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Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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Our Constituent Assembly (Ghulam Mohiud-Din Hamdani)
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OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY



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GHULAM MOHIUD-DIN HAMDANI
PRESIDENT DISTRICT NATIONAL CONFERENCE
SRINAGAR

MUJAHID MANZIL
September 51

Broca's Artistic Press, Srinagar.

THE National Conference has pledged itself to wage to the last drop of the blood of its votaries a war of high principles. It is a war between truth and untruth. Not guiding the destiny of only forty and odd lakhes of people in the State, it is today the beacon light of all Indians: Even Mahatma Gandhi repeatedly said that he saw light in Kashmir when darkness befell the country he had liberated.

Under the leadership of Shiekh Mohamed Abdulla Kashmiris have won praise and support from men of eminence of Shri Jawahir Lal Nehru for their wisdom in keeping themselves free from the least tinge of communalism which swept the Punjab and other parts of India. For the National Conference, communalism and its propagation is the most heinous crime. For it forces actually in conflict are the exploiters and

the exploited. An exploiter is an exploiter whatever is his creed, caste or colour. The exploited call for sympathy, support and sacrifice wherever they are and whoever they are. The National Conference stands for the exploited.

After a mighty struggle ranging over two decades we have come to a decisive stage in our freedom movement when free will of Kashmiris will frame a constitution becoming their noble struggle, traditions and glorious culture. We are one people having one culture and one language as Gandhi ji has observed on his return from his last visit here which opened a new proved chapter in the history of the National Conference. He said also that "the will of Kashmiris is the supreme law in Kashmir and Jammu". We are convening the constituent Assembly to let that law operate.

As early as October '32 when the Muslim Conference functioned Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah in his first presidential address said,

“We stand for the rights of all communities. Our country's progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amiable relations between the different communities”. In March '33 a sub-committee was set up to enlist the support and sympathy of other groups which had kept us at arms length. The achievements of this Muslim Conference, that is, the freedom of press, platform and other concessions benefitted all communities equally. After 1939 the onerous task of synthetic reconstruction consummated itself in the National Conference. The movement grew from strength to strength by virtue of its democratic ideal and its ever expanding mass following. August '42 saw another attempt of the Britisher to repress Indian Freedom movement. The congress leaders were jailed. The National Conference vide its resolution of August, 16, '42, unequivocally condemned the reign of terror of the British Imperialism. *Meanwhile it took the wind out of the sails of Mr. Jinnah who, in all his pontifical glamour, had come across the border to cite scriptures to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Mr. Jinnah used his characteristic tactics to debunk the*

National Conference. He had however, to eat humble pie. He went away to hit us back in the "Quit Kashmir Movement". That shows plainly if he had not sent raiders here, and even if he had not opposed our freedom movement, we would have refused to fiddle with him as much as ever. Knowing this, the League Fuhrer became desperate and worsened his case by planning an armed attack on Kashmir in 1947. On the contrary, Gandhi ji confirmed and blessed our action. "The treaty of Amritsar was in reality, a deed of sale", said the fearless and truthful saint.

In the unique Sopore Session of National Conference in 1945, Shri Nehru, Maulana Azad and Badshah Khan participated. That shows Indian leaders fed the growth of our freedom movement and the Quit Kashmir Movement generated from this feeding to a large extent. Speeches at this historic session laid the most profound emphasis on the bonds between Kashmir and India. It was therefore, not fortuitous that Kriplani Jee, Jai Prakash, Shri Nehru and Gandhi Ji came to hearten us during storm-tossed days of Quit Kashmir Movement. If the Maharaja had only listened

to Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru and had not allowed himself to be led away by the British political Department, none of the present complications would have arisen and the Frontier Province, notwithstanding undisputed leadership of Badshah Khan, would not have been under the despotic rule of "Qayum Khan". That however, justified our Quit Kashmir Movement with a vengeance.

In 1947 when Pakistan made an attempt to grab Kashmir, the National Conference undermined its plans. Under the leadership of the National Conference, the people of Kashmir rose as man to defend the liberty and honour of this country. On November 11 Prime Minister Nehru arrived in Srinagar and said, "you the people of Srinagar have presented a model lesson to the people of India—the Sheri Kashmir has shown to the world and to the rest of India how to achieve communal harmony and freedom". Communal harmony—that is the crux of the whole matter. The heroes of our freedom Movement have gone the way of the great Mahatma. Like him, they

have died at the hands of their coreligionists.

The manner in which the people here have reacted towards the present situation regarding the Assembly elections shows on the one hand the inherent wisdom of Kashmiris and on the other, it makes it pointedly clear that Kashmiris have solidarity enough to overcome greater conspiracies than those on the move, not only against the freedom of Kashmiris but against India and, for that matter against Asia. There are only two jarring notes—one at Baramulla and the other here in the Haba Kadal Constituency. The rival candidate against the nominee of the National Conference at Baramulla had been himself a national conferencite. He has failed to adjust himself with the Organizational discipline and that will do credit neither to him nor to his voters. He, however, has a right to stand.

To Mr. Fotedar who is pitted against the nominee of the National Conference I would say that we are opposed to a two-nation theory in any shape it takes. Sher-i-Kashmir has heckled Pakistanis on that issue. Gandhi Ji, Shirwani, Abdul Aziz gave their lives to disprove it. As for as his recent statement goes,

I would say in words of Voltaire about Rousseau, "I do not agree with a word you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it." I would desire him to recall that in the beginning when the National Conference started functioning, the then autocracy, backed up the British political Department, manoeuvred a conflict between a section of Muslims and Mr. Fotedar who was charged with sacrilege. The National Conference did rise to the occasion and would not let discredit come to the renowned communal harmony here. Mr. Fotedar swears by his faith in Shiekh Mohamed Abdulla only not to follow him. If he followed him strictly he would not then retire. "Unwept, unsung and unmourned." He says, "even at the late stage in strict obedience to the counsel of my friends, coupled by my own patriotic urge, I would reconsider my decision regarding the stand I have adopted vis-a-vis elections, despite the factual position of the electorate, but the consciousness of my obligations towards the Electorate and particularly to the minority community, whose ideology is identical with the National Conference and

who yield to none in their confidence in the leadership of Shiekh Sahib". Some inferences are obvious. *First his, patriotic urge has had to hang fire in the stand he has taken.* "His factual position of the Electorate" coupled by his "obligation towards the minority community" makes it plain that he banks on the Kashmiri Pandits. They are free to vote for any one they deem fit. Unlike the elections to the force of an Assembly (in which Mr. Fotedar has had his turn) convened by Kakastocracy to face Shri Nehru with a counterfeit plebiscite against the stand he had taken on the Kashmir Issue, there will be no gerrymandering in this Assembly we are convening.

Mr. Fotedar talks of accession to India but he would impair the very basis of that accession. India is a secular state and we have decided to accede to it on the basis of New Kashmir. It wears neither majority nor minority complexion but it is just secular, with equal opportunities for all. That is the basis underlying our decision and that basis we hold

out for international appreciation.

This is just a general statement and I do not want to enter into pamphleteering controversy with Mr. Fotedar whose right to stand we shall defend at all costs.

The strategic position of Kashmir on the international plane has created a world situation for all of us. The failure of U.N.O. to bring about international good will and peace had led to despair shadowing the lives of the common people. Every country will be subject to the consequences of this failure. For us in Kashmir they take on a more serious complexion. We have to be on the alert and should not come down to personal matters. It is in this broad context that we have decided to convene the Constituent Assembly.

NAYA KASHMIR ZINDABAD



Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah
The Hero of The Freedom Movement

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Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah-Leadership
Style & Leadership Behaviour-

A HALF CENTURY OF DEDICATED
PUBLIC SERVICE

(1932-1982)

Dr. R. D. SHARMA

ARCHANA PRAKASHAN

17, ASHOKA HOTEL SHIMLA-1, 1983

Rs. 20/-

Dedicated to

*The Common docile meak, gentle
illiterate Kashmiri Musalmans with whom
I suffered humiliating indifference at the
hands of wretched bureaucrats and cyco-
phancy-loving poorely gifted polticians
during my stay in Kashmir (1965-75)*

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah – Leadership Style & Leadership Behaviour

(*A Half Century of Dedicated Public Service*)
(1932–82)

I. Politics of Populism

It is not difficult to say that Sheikh Abdullah did wield considerable influence among the Kashmiri masses. His popularity of pre-1953 days as well as post-1977 Assembly elections proved that he was the doyen of the entire state, not even excluding some districts of Jammu Province. Speculation and unaccountable doubts (some of these unacceptable) were attributed to the circumstances in which he was arbitrarily arrested and dismissed from Prime Ministership of the state in 1953. These facts had adverse effects on his popularity, more particularly in the Hindu dominated province of Jammu. The only people in Jammu who regarded him as a potential voice of the state were those who had faith in his secular views.

In the valley, only Abdullah's writ used to be carried even if an impartial observer of state politics has to comment upon his popularity in the Kashmir Valley, (precluding the extra-ordinary attendances on Fridays at Hazratbal Shrine—the main platform of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah to communicate his political views to the masses), apart from the press statements which are primarily meant for external consumption, one would unhesitatingly say that Sheikh was the one voice of the valley—a voice pre-eminent. He had been

dictated by his own convictions in the past. He led people with his own upright conscience. His politics was of pre-eminence. He had unquestioned faith in popular support for him and immense self-confidence. These were rare qualities, not commonly available in any political leader.

An exemplary change of views was an essence of politics of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. His declaration at the opening session of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly in 1951 was recorded thus: "You are the sovereign authority in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. What you decide has the irrevocable force of law". This is not the only example when Sheikh had emphatically and unconditionally reiterated his governments' as well as Assembly's acceptance of accession of the state to India. The Preamble to the Constitution of J&K State Constituent Assembly 1956 read: "We the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, having solemnly resolved in pursuance of the accession of this state to India which took on the twenty sixth day of October, 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the state with the union of India as an integral part thereof"

Despite these historical utterances and commitments, some observers are keen in changing these historical evidences and facts about accession, with their own interpretations. To quote one Mr. Noorani, "The Assembly should have the power to finalize the issue of accession to India and a plebs-cite".¹

The finality of accession had been decided once for all. Mr. Noorani tried to reopen the issue with the change of mind on the part of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah after 1953. Sheikh Abdullah perhaps got annoyed because of the way he was ousted out of power in 1953 and replaced by purely an undemocratic "substitute-government" (a puppet government) which was to be kept in power through undemocratic

unwanted methods. Still Sheikh Abdullah retained his glorious past and continued to aspire to rebuild a prosperous state.

2—Sheikh Abdullah As a Prime Minister-Ideological Coherence :

Sheikh Abdullah was basically a Kashmiri nationalist. He had highest regards for the Indian nationalists of pre-fifties. His ideological training speaks for his lack of consistent inherent ideological training and background. He had failed to exhibit so far any doctrinaire qualities. His politics revolved round Kashmiri Nationalism constrained by two dominating currents of nationalism-Indian and Pakistani. Pakistan as a nation can survive longer but as a separate civilization it lacks identifiable ingredients more peculiarly unnoticeable from that of Indian Muslim's civilization. Pakistan is an outcome of mistrust on the part of those Muslim leaders who disbelieved the so called Hindu congressmen particularly the leadership of A.I.C.C. The Indian political elite created two nations out of one. On the same premise India can woe-fully be divided into many nations if at all, it could be afforded to be created on the basis of mistrust. The psychologically fatigued political elite bothered about their own interests rather than the interests of the common Hindu and Musalman. The political elite betrayed Indians in 1947 but not Sheikh Abdullah who remained Kashmiri nationalist and so he was at the time of his death. His 'cause' of politics was the **expulsion** of dogra ruler and its replacement with the rule of the Kashmiri people. He did not believe in communalism or even in two nation theory of M.A. Jinnah.

Sheikh Monammad Abdullah, the first Prime Minister of J&K State was born 'posthumously' on fifth of December 1905 in Soura village, on the outskirts of Srinagar city. He was brought, up by his widowed mother. Sheikh Mohammad Ibrahim had died two month's before his birth, leaving behind five sons

and one daughter. All his brothers were engaged in pashmina and shawl trade. Perhaps his brothers had taken a vow to educate him to the extent possible. Abdullah got his education in Sri Pratap College Srinagar. He had also passed his intermediate (Arts) from Jammu College⁵. Sheikh Abdullah did his graduation from Lahore in 1927. Quest for education was an inborn urge of Abdullah. Perhaps it was the only instrument according to Abdullah's mind to defeat domination of Pundits intelligentsia and dogra rule over Kashmiris⁶. From Islamia College Lahore after his degree from Panjab University in 1928 he joined Aligarh Muslim University and qualified for M. Sc. degree in 1930. Sheikh Abdullah came back to Kashmir with the determination to rescue illiterate, poverty-stricken Kashmiri Muslims from the feudal persecution, tyranny and humiliation.

Sheikh Abdullah was one of the prominent members of the Reading Room party of Fateh Kadal.⁷ These were about a dozen muslim graduates who used to take part in discussions in a room at Fateh Kadal. B.P.L. Bedi and Fredda Bedi say that, "the young leader carried them (articles and papers etc.) about tucked under his arm, well wrapped up under his shawl"⁸. Sheikh Abdullah hard-pressed economically had to take up job as a science teacher with eighty rupees salary per month.

3 Political Initiation

Sheikh Abdullah himself described his initiation into politics in these words: "It goes back many years now in Srinagar on July 13, 1931, a serious incident occurred in which government officials resorted to firing to quell some disturbances caused by a public demonstration. I felt as if the bullets were penetrating my heart. My political life in the real sense starts with this firing on the people. A number of Kashmiris were killed or wounded and as I was helping a wounded man, he cried, "Abdullah, I have done my duty, Now it is for you to go on

with our mission". I was greatly influenced by this incident.. ..
On January 23, 1932 I was arrested again. By then I had
already organized a team of workers to carry on struggle
in my place.⁹

Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned by Maharaja Hari Singh for leading an anti-Maharaja agitation known as "Quit Kashmir Movement". Sheikh was sentenced in 1946 for nine year's imprisonment. On 29th September 1947, Sheikh was released, perhaps with the intervention of late Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru." In Oct.-Nov, 1947 an invasion of Kabaiylees, inspired, instigated and trained by Pakistani Army made Abdullah hero in the valley, and in his party. He mobilized a National Militia¹⁰. Maharaja Hari Singh in his letter of accession of 26th October 1947, wrote to Lord Mountbatten that he is setting up an interim government and asking "Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities" in the emergency as his Prime Minister¹¹. On October 30th 1947, Maharaja appointed Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the head of the Emergency Administration. On March 1948 the Maharaja as advised by the Union of India, ended Emergency nature of administration in J&K State and nominated Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as Prime Minister of Kashmir.

From March 1948 to August 9, 1953 Sheikh Abdullah ruled the state of J&K as its Prime Minister. During these five years of his leadership he thought of converting the state into a second paradise on earth—equal only to Switzerland. His dream failed him and so his close associates in the cabinet with the exception of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. Sheikh Abdullah was deposed by Sadr-i-Riyasat and put in jail for alleged anti-national activities. Bakshi Gulam Mohammad was installed as the Prime Minister of the State after the arrest of Sadr-i- Kashmir. Korbil summarizes Abdullah's fall in these words :

Sheikh Abdullah

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"Thus ended, at least temporarily, the meteoric political career of the man who began as a national revolutionary, 'the Lion of Kashmir', who thought as a socialist, acted as a dictator, manoeuvred as a petty Machiavellist and finally scummed at the hands of his life long associates at arms which he had often used himself".

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's achievements during the first three years of his Prime Ministership were as follows :-

1. Establishment of J&K University.
2. Adoption of Kashmiri as medium of instructions in primary education.
3. Publication of new text books.
4. Setting up of two Radio stations.
5. Setting up of Planning Committee.
6. Setting up of Trade Agencies at Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Simla, Delhi and Amritsar.

Under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, his cabinet Ministers also did remarkable work. The above mentioned achievements were under the direct supervision of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his Deputy Minister for Planning and Franchise Mr. D.P. Dhar, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's achievements as Deputy Prime Minister were as follows:—

1. Raising of Volunteer Organization of Peace Brigades.
2. Setting up of Labour Organization to provide work for the unemployed.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg as Minister of Revenue did commendable work under the guidance of S.M. Abdullah. His contribution to the state was as given below.

1. Abolition of Jagirs, Mukarraries and Muafis.
2. Introduction of Tenancy Legislation which:—
 - (a) gives the tenant a permanent right in the farm

- (b) entitles him to keep 3/4th land of the land-lord, and protect tenancy
- (c) bans indiscriminate ejection of tenants.
- 3. Making of Zaildari and Lambardari Offices elective.
- 4. Stay of realization of debts.
- 5. Land to the tiller.

The achievements made by Sh. G.M. Sadiq as Minister for Development and Sh. G.L. Dogra, Minister for Finance were also praiseworthy. Similarly Col. Pir Mohammad Khan, Minister of Forests and National Militia had done mentionable work in the following manner.

- 1. Raising of National Militia.
- 2. Setting up of National Cadet Corps Organization.
- 3. Grant of trees free of charge, to refugees.
to rebuild their destroyed homes.

G L. Kaul writes that "greatest achievement of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was the convening of the sovereign Constituent Assembly for the state which met in October 1951; seventy five members of which returned on the basis of adult suffrage and joint electorate¹⁵. Majority of the members were elected unopposed.

4—Assesment of Political Leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah:

Pandit Prem Nath Dogra- one time staunch political opponent of Sheikh Abdullah called him as "a communalist in Kashmir, a communist in Jammu, and a nationalist in India¹⁶". Thus, Pt. Pram Nath Dogra projected his party's (Jan Singh) bitterest vehemance against a true leader of majority community in Kashmir. Joseph Corbel, too had not very good words for Abdullah. He says "**The story of Sheikh Abdullah is a sad**

and sorry one. It is the story of a patriot, once passionately devoted to his people's welfare, but one whose patriotism was too shallow to reject the temptations of power. Once a fighter, he turned into an opportunist and, worse, a dictator who at the end found himself entangled in the web of his own methods and policy."¹⁷ Such vehement criticism of Abdullah was also seen in a national paper: "The cause of the continuing Kashmir imbroglio is Sheikh Abdullah. And the real clue to his shocking transformation from patriot to partisan, from the well beloved Sher-e-Kashmir to inspirer of the pro-Pak Plebiscite Front is his innate communalism "¹⁸

5—Inconsistencies Multiplied:—

One of the most striking traits of Sheikh's personality was his unpredictable behaviour. Is it not the evidence of his mercurial behaviour that after almost fourteen years of imprisonment in Indian jails, the great leader behaved contrary to the expectations when he signed the Accord with Mrs. Indra Gandhi in 1974 ? The Accord was not an act of trust but an act of mistrust against conscience and convictions reposed in Indian leadership by Sheikh.

Inder Malhotra says : "most important factor is Abdullah's mercurial personality. Blessed with the rare gift of charisma greyed in the service of the people, the Sheikh is among the more attractive leaders of men in the entire sub continent. But he can also be over bearing and infuriatively unpredictable." Sheikh's unpredictability was most typical of his traits. His conflicting statements can be inter-linked to provide some meaning to Indians, Indian Muslims, Indian Government and Kashmiri Hindus as well as Muslims. All get satisfaction from different statements given on different occasions at different places.

B.P.L. Bedi and Freda Bedi wrote about Abdullah in these words, **"the spirit of man's speeches may be one whatever the phases of the movement changing circumstances, new policies, developing ideas** Such a test illumines, Gandhi it reveals the true Jawahar Lal. **That test too brings out the simplicity and greatness of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, of the youngest,** the least intimately known, of the Great Three, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah-Sher-i-Kashmir." But alas! the spirit of Sheikh Abdullah's, speeches did not reveal that 'oneness' which Bedi's had described. Abdullah's skill as a great political leader and manipulator is acknowledged by even his political opponents. "A rare combination of skilful manipulator .."²¹

Sheikh Abdullah combined in him rare qualities of democratic humanism. Universal Islamism and liberal radicalism. His qualities as a leader were unquestionable. His personality traits were uncomparable to any Muslim leader of post-independence India.

- 6 Charisma, Enigma and Contradiction:** Sheikh Abdullah can be described in length but precisely and exactly very little. What was he? Even he would not possibly be able to describe himself. He was plain simple man, working for the good of the Kashmiri people. Russell Brine tried to depict what meant Sheikh to him in these words: "Sheikh Abdullah, in some ways most enigmatic. From somewhere, he had inherited the charismatic appeal that is so important in Asia. He used it so effectively that he remains the dominant political figure in Kashmir despite years of imprisonment and eclipse. An imposing man who stands 6 feet 4 inches tall, he can attract and move audiences of thousands with his oratory. **What he tells his people and the world is sometimes confusing and contradictory, but the central theme was independence and Kashmiri nationalism²².**" Sheikh's proverbial inconsistency was due to dramatic

political changes which Government of India had brought about in J&K State by removing him from power and establishing Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as the Prime-Minister. The undemocratic removal of Sheikh from Prime-Minister-ship by an authoritarian method by the Sadar-i-Riyasat compelled Abdullah to retreat from his earlier commitment and statements causing more embarasment to Indian leaders much less to the political analysts of J & K state politics. **The author of this research monograph believes that the proverbial inconsistency and contradictions in the political roles of Abdullah were irrelevant to a rational Kashmir-watcher. Abdullah was right to change—India was right to safeguard as nation its interests even if her actions are judged from any acknowledged international standards of political morality.**

The enigmatic trait of Abdullah spoke for his statesmanlike use of political phrases and terminology to suit his interests and above all the interest of the Kashmiris. A. Hariharan has rated Abdullah as enigma in these words: "Sheikh Abdullah has been talking in riddles and no one, least of all Mrs. Gandhi, knows what he wants or what he is doing."²³

7—Political Behaviour :

One of the Kashmiri politicians of old days, an ex-M.P. speaks about Abdullah in these words:—"In 1930 this tyrannical rule reached its peak and at the slightest provocation, force and violence were used by the officials. During this tyrannical period, a tall thin youngman with some companions and an immense faith in God, came like an explosion of a bomb of freedom. When the youngmen who led this revolt against the ruler was put in jail, the whole valley resounded with slogan "long live the lion of Kashmir".²⁴

Sheikh Abdullah became the talk of every household in Kashmir for his love for freedom of the motherland against oppression and tyranny. Sheikh did not like treatment meted to a Kashmiri who were called a "Hatto"—to be harshly dealt and treated like dumb driven cattle. Sheikh was the first to raise the slogan : "It is the right of Kashmiri people to form their own government."²⁵

Sheikh Abdullah was assessed by a competent journalist who worked in a reputed English daily (Ian Stephens) in these words: "On April 21, I spent three hours with Sheikh Abdullah, one of modern Asia's most controversial figures. His clothing and apparent way of life surprised me. Said to be the son of a poor shawl-maker, he had been publicized in India as a man of the people, the blue lounge suit, the conventional necktie, The petdog the well-kept garden, the large dwelling in the background-indicated a westernized politician established in comfortable upper-middle-class type"²⁶

Stephens says Abdullah was "courageous, forthright, vigorous man' intelligent, though without great intellectual range, gifted with strong personality, therefore, an inspiring leader of the down-trodden obviously non-communal, wholeheartedly so. pre-eminently he appeared to me a Kashmiri patriot, full of zeal to improve his countrymen's plight; preoccupied with the vale "

Perhaps no better assessment of Abdullah has so far been made by any person than this reported author of "Horned Moon", despite of the fact that the basic, theme of the book was biased in favour of Pakistan than towards India and Kashmir.

8—Extra-Ordinary Sheikh:

Widened Political Outlook And Gracious Living:

The Sheikh was no ordinary a man to be assessed in so little words. Even if his political outlook had not widened as a

Sheikh Abdullah

□/11

result of studies during the long spell of enforced leisure in jail, he had acquired the airs of gracious living such as "love of flowers and gardening which nobody who knew him as school master and Kashmir's head of Governmet" remembered to have seen in him.²⁷

Sheikh Abdullah was really a leader incarnate with an absolute desire to see Kashmiris prosper economically keeping together the culturally much different parts of the state. He would have wished to see that all the three regions of the state develop simultaneously notwithstanding the abundant raw materials and richness of soil of the valley to which he primarily belonged.

9—Abdullah And "New Kashmir"—Programme;

The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah started a new programme of building "Naya Kashmir". The new programme envisaged "to fight the immemorial poverty of the peasant and the artisan, and the unmitigated helplessness of worker." The programme consisted of two parts; the first part related to constitutional aspects of citizenship, the National Assembly and electoral system because the National Conference believed that the political freedom is not enough, that to make it durable and effective means of peace and progress in a country, it must be founded on socio-economic freedom". In order to achieve socio-economic along with political freedom, the National Conference formulated Naya Kashmir programme of economic planning and through it the upliftment of the Kisan and the Mazdoor.

The Abdullah ministry had proclaimed its priorities of action in these words: we realize that political freedom is not enough; that to make it durable and an effective means of peace and progress in a country, it

must be found on socio-economic freedom.”²⁸ Sheikh Abdullah always **propagated the three main ideals of his party; socialism, democracy and secularism.** Sheikh had loved Kashmir usher into an era of social order based upon economic justice and freedom.

10. – Abdullah Idolized-the Lenin of Kashmir:

The most satisfying admirable epithet conferred on Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was his role as a Lenin of Kashmir. Thus wrote C L. Kaul about Abdullah:

“Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Lenin of Kashmir, was born in December 1905 in the family of a shawl-makers at Soura first a communalist (1931), than a nationalist (1939) and later a socialist (1944)’

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah rode a highhorse.”²⁹ Mr. G L. Kaul may not be wholly correct to say that Sheikh was a communalist in 1931. This aspect of Sheikh’s personality has not been correctly analysed by Mr. Gia Lal Kaul

11—A Kashmiri Nationalist: Sheikh Abdullah, as we have already described him, was called a true Kashmiri nationalist or a champion of Kashmiri Sub-Nationalism. K R. Sundar Rajan repeats this assessment in his article about future set up of Kashmir: “In this set up: Hindus, Budhists, Sikhs and other minorities will be given all possible protection, **but the levers of political, administrative and economic power will be in the hands of Kashmiri Muslims. Even the Muslims of Jammu and Ladakh will have to play a secondary role. This is the reality.**”³⁰ Sheikh Abdullah’s assessment as a true Kashmiri cannot be taken as his **over-whelming bias toward valley with zealous disregard for the other two regions.** The latest developments disapproved the apprehensions widely held in India. Sheikh Abdullah had tried to keep Ladakhis

and Jammu-wallahs with him in a very wisely selected united team of Sh. Sonam Norbu from Ladakh and Sh. Devi Dass Thakur from Jammu. Sheikh Abdullah was keen not to ignore the regional aspirations of these two areas, in an attempt to efface his earlier tarnished image of a valley-wallah. It is commonly believed in J&K State that in near future no Jammu-wala can dream to become Chief-Minister. This speaks for the dominance of the state politics by the people of Kashmir Valley particularly the Muslims.

II—Ambition Absolute: One of the Sheikh's fascinating personalty traits was his quest for unchecked power. Power-nay absolute power-yes. Lord Action had advised politicians and students of politics as well as the citizens that "power corrupts and absolute power 'absolutely'". But "ambition" plays important role for attempts for access to power. S. Vashistha writes; "Sheikh Abdullah, being very ambitious, had one dominating ambition to absolute power. He was prepared to go to any extent and use any means to achieve it"³¹. It was his ambition that had brought him to power second time. It was highly unexpected and unbelievable. It was a mere dream to have ever thought that Sheikh Abdullah would come to terms with India and with Mrs. Indira Gandhi by ousting a duly established Congress Chief Minister Sayed Mir Qasim. It was a miraculous political feat of Abdullah to have utilized his cards with rarest diplomatic style. Shri Rajagopalachari had called Sheikh as an unquestioned leader"³² Acharya Vinoba Bhave beautifully described Sheikh in the following words: "The Sheikh was like a person, unable to swim, caught in a flooded-river. Only those who could not swim, flung their arms and legs desperately about and shouted themselves hoarse and ultimately they sank."³³

Shri Vinoba Bhave the saint proved a bad futurologist. It is difficult to analyse and assess Sheikh Abdullah. It was not easy to read his mind. What Vinoba Bhave said about Abdullah was

only true for a short period. Sheikh did not sink any time. Instead Sheikh had startled people all over the world by restarting swimming as a Chief Minister of J&K State after remaining out of power for nearly twenty two years.

12— Sheikh the Realist: Above all it was the realism³⁴ in Sheikh which had paid him to his last day. He was confident that victory of secular democratic forces over communal, narrow, parochial elements in Kashmir, was certain. His realism and unshakable faith in ideals of democracy, socialism and secularism were the virtuous traits of his not-so-well analysed personality.

**13—Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah
Leadership Analysis:—**

1. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was a charismatic leader,
2. He had master-minded the psychology of the poverty-stricken masses of the valley. He had in the past successfully hypnotised the speechless, the simpleton "hattoos" living in abject poverty. Thus Sheikh was a mass-leader with a strong mass-base in the villages of Kashmir.
3. Sheikh had belief in personal contact with his followers. He had no "go-betweens" to depend for vote collection. There was no other linkage between the political leader and the voter, except that of his own personal acquaintances which he had successfully developed for the last fifty years.
4. Sheikh had become symbol of representation of the majority of the Muslims of the valley who were either farm-labourers or small farmers before 1947. He provided material benefits to majority of the Muslims through his radical land reform measures. This single revolutionary step gave Abdullah a strong support base in the villages. His radical land measures projected in the slogan—"Land to the Tiller" and his most revolutionary step to salvage thousands of poor farmers from

the clutches of ruling Pandit-Dogra oligarchy provided him yet another occasion to be endeared by the masses working under near-slave conditions as bonded-labourers of Kashmiri Pandit money-lenders and land-lords. No other Chief Minister so far, in the whole of the country had provided so much of economic benefits to such a larger percentage of population in such a short period i.e. within five years of independence (between 1947-1953) as Sheikh Abdullah had done.

5. Sheikh Abdullah stood for basic political values e.g. democracy and secularism. His faith in these basic values had compelled him to allow Kashmir to accede with India.
6. Sheikh Abdullah was a visionary who had dreamt of a 'Naya Kashmir'. Some of his old dreams were gradually realized after his assumption of political power again in 1975 till 1983 there had been tremendous development all round in the state in almost all sectors with the exception of industries and power-generation. Sheikh had successfully transformed the Kashmiri society into a progressive forward looking maturer community.
7. Sheikh was protagonist of self-reliance and believer in self-respect of not only his own self or the leaders of his party but all the Kashmiris. Any **inroad** to self-respect was considered by him as grave challenge to the spirit of Kashmiri life and he did not hesitate to stake anything in his attempt to defend honour, integrity and the "Spirit" of Kashmiri population.
8. Sheikh had successfully tried to build a team of honest, humble looking, simple, sincere and dedicated party workers so that another generation of young leaders get adequate experience and opportunity to develop their leadership qualities during his own life time. His attempt to provide clean administration was visible from his single act of inducting judges, magistrates, engineers and doctors of good reputation into his cabinet. His attempt to save National Conference from "tough" individuals was seen in his attempt to encourage Dr. Farooq Abdullah to share with his father burdens of the political party.

9. Sheikh was not only a source of strength to the people of Kashmir but a monument of restraint on people sitting away from Srinagar, thinking to decide things for Kashmiris without taking into consideration their popular sentiments, Thus Sheikh was a leader of exceptional qualities and abilities next to none else than Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru among the new generation leaders of thirties and forties in India.
10. Sheikh was an administrator par excellence. His concept of "Single Line Administration" is unique. His attempt to take Government staff and officials to district headquarters to listen and to decide problems on the spot was a marvellous innovation in modern Public Administration.

EPILOGUE

The present research monograph was written before April 1982 when the author was teaching in the Post Graduate department of Political Science, University of Jammu and Sher-i-Kashmir was alive as Chief Minister of J&K State. After his death we had to change the script to fit it to the account of leadership behaviour of leader that was.

As the present manuscript is being published I must admit that I had been an uncommitted impartial observer of a political person. I have tried to portray a kashmiri leader as an outside observer with inside knowledge. It has not been written with any fear of suffering retaliation at the hands of Sher-i-kashmir's successor nor with an intention to appease any one for personal benefits. It is not like an incharge of a political science department who guided a ph.d monograph and entirely got it changed when Sher-i-Kashmir again came to power in 1975. I leave it to impartial critics minus above-mentioned opportunist cycophants to evaluate it. God help the opportunist cycophancy—Amin.

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Khushwant Singh interviews Sheikh Abdullah in Shamim Ahmed Shamim's house. See Illustrated Weekly of India, April 21, 1974, p 9
4. **S. Vashishth, Sheikh Abdullah Then and Now”** Maulik Sahitya Prakashan, 162-D, Kamla Nagar, Delhi-7 1st Edn. 1968, p. 1.
5. **Architects of New Kashmir**, Kashmir Bureau of Information 5-Prithviraj Road, New Delhi, p. 2.
6. **B. P. L. Bedi and Freda Bedi, 'Sheikh Abdullah His Life and Ideals'** Srinagar Kashmir 1949, p 4 B.P.L. Bedi and Freda Bedi write, “It was easy in those days to identify poverty with Muslims, for the Pandit intelligentsia dominated the services and the Jammu Dogras were a estate maintaining their rule by force of arms.”
7. **Architects of New Kashmir** Op. cit. **Messers Omkar Nath and Qaiser Qalandar** write that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had formed a union of Kashmir workers in Lahore in 1927, p. 2.

8. Ibid. p. 6.
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15. G.L. Kaul. "Kashmir Then and Now" 1967, p. 112
16. The Hindu, Madras, October 15, 1952
17. **Joseph Korb**el, op. cit- p. 207
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Sheikh Abdullah

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22. **Russell Brines**, op. cit. p. 67
23. op. cit. p. 67-68
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26. **Horned Moon** p. 207
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Sheikh Abdullah

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In order to strengthen the democra-tie institutions at village, level, as well as to modernize their style of functioning so that they may effeciently meet the chaning needs and aspirations of the rural masses. I may make following suggestions.

1. The rural elites be fully conversent with the village Panchatat Acts adopted from time to time and with their latest amendments also.
2. They should be fully aware of their functions, duties and responsibilities. The Block level bureacracy should impart training to them inthis respect.
3. Panchs and Sarpanches, when elected should cease to be member of any political party, trade union, cooperative sooieties, etc.
4. The political parties as well as the administration at the state level should also develop a code not to interfere on political grounds unnecessarily or otherwise in the working of panchayats.
5. Adequate grants should be available to village panchayats so that rural elites could bring about desired changes and development.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE :

The year of 1938 is the most important landmark in the history of freedom movement in the Jammu and Kashmir State. In June 28, 1938, the working Committee of the Muslim Conference met at Srinagar and passed a resolution recommending to the General Council to invite all people to become its members, irrespective of their religion. In August 1938, was issued a national demand stating that the ultimate goal of the people was to bring about complete change in their social and political outlook and to achieve the responsible Government under the ~~eyes~~ of the Maharaja. Among the signatures were Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Gulam Mohd, G.M. Sadiq, ^{Sia} Lal Kilan, Shyam Lal Saraf and Sardar Budh Singh. Next year the recommendations of the working committee were accepted by the General Council and thus the National Conference came into existence.

The National Conference took rapid strides towards ~~the~~ ^{board} of the political prospectives in ~~the~~ ^{the} with the freedom movement in the rest of the country. It formed a radical programme on the basis of the famous political manifesto known as Naya Kashmir. It was dynamic and a historical document for replanning and rebuilding of the State on secular, socialistic and democratic pattern of society. The National Conference envisaged the future of Kashmir in both political and economic terms. It was a scheme which politically was based on the democratic principle of representative from village panchayat right

upto the National Assembly and it was linked with the independence of judiciary and the ultimate responsibility of the executive to the people. In the economic sphere it envisaged a planned economy on socialistic pattern. This document was in reality a constitution and an economic plan for the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In May 1946, the National Conference launched a mass movement, known as Quit Kashmir, which challenged the validity of the Treaty of Amritsar. It was a struggle of the people in the state against autocracy and a branch of the bigger movement in the country known as Quit India Movement. To the Credit of the National Conference goes the accession of the state to the Indian Union in 1948. Subsequently, the members of the National Conference joined the Indian National Congress, the main political party in the Country.

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... Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

July 1975 and in fact is the logic corollary of the historic accord between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Government of India. The party represents continuity of the political movement in the State which was interrupted, in 1953. The people of Jammu and Ladakh regions equally welcomed the revival of the National Conference as that enabled them to join the common mainstream of the politics of the State. The National Conference is particularly suited to evolve a composite personality of the State by harmonising the diverse regional personalities and accommodate their respective needs and sentiments, not only the party is organised on the basis of a federal structure with provincial committees for each of the three regions of the State, it also proposes to re-organise the internal constitutional set up of the State on similar lines, which would provide regional autonomy and further decentralise political power through appropriate institutional arrangements at the district, block and village levels.

On 5th August 1975 the Jammu regional National Conference was nominated by the working Committee of All Jammu and Kashmir

1. Source:- "Why 'National Conference' issued by publicity Department. Jammu and Kashmir National Conference.

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National Conference with Sh. Balraj Puri as its president and Abdul Gani Mast Faridi, The other office bearers of the party are :-

Shri Nand Kumar Ved	Vice President
Shri Bachan Singh Panchi	Chief Organiser
Shri Milki Ram	Joint Secretary
Shri Roshan Lal	Cashier
Shri Raghay Pall Singh	Organiser

The other leaders of the party are Shri B. R. Bali, Shri Chuni Lal, Shri Ved Prakash, Shri Bashir Kichloo, Shri Mirza Mohd Khan, Shri Ghulam Qadir Bandey. The party has also got a youth wing called Jammu National Youth Conference with Shyam Sunder Anand Lahar as President and Sh. Abdul Hamid as General Secretary, Shri Balraj Puri is the patron. The party has a separate labour wing with a number of trade unions affiliated with the party. The head office of the party is located in Jammu with its branches at Districts, Tehsils, Blocks, Villages/Mohallas.

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS :

Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912) started a National Movement in India in the year 1882. In the next year he launched the Indian National Union in consultation with other leaders, to oppose by all institutional methods, all authorities high or low whose acts or commissions are opposed to the principles of the Government of India laid down by the British Parliament. A Conference of Indian leaders convened at Poona from December 1884, which received support from all parts of India and as such it assumed the name, the Indian National Congress. For the first time a United Political Movement had emerged which gave a lead to a country. Since the year, it interested itself in the needs and aspirations of all the people and protested against rigorous taxes. The emergence of this party resulted in a conflict between the ruler and the ruled. The masses in India who had suffered under the British regime joined together under the honour of Indian National Congress under the able guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, it became the major political party of the Indians. The Indian National Congress fought for the freedom of India and attained its goal in 1947 when the British had to quit the Indian soil.

The Jammu and Kashmir Pradesh Congress is the youngest unit of the Indian National Congress. Formed at a crucial phase in the history of the State, it has made a deep impact on the political life of the State during the brief period of its

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existence. The number of its primary members has already touched six lakhs. A sizable section of the membership consists of women and students. Peasants, factory workers and artisans have especially felt attracted to the Congress party. Several organisations belonging to the youth and labour have affiliated themselves with the Pradesh Unit.

In the far-flung areas of Ladakh and the hilly districts of Jammu, the Congress has similarly spread its roots far and wide. Despite severe odds and difficulties created in its way in the early days of its birth, it has established itself firmly in the minds and hearts of the people. Perhaps, no other Pradesh Unit has had to encounter the peculiar challenges that the Jammu and Kashmir Pradesh Congress did.

The party made significant achievements in the field of development as also in uniting democratic forces by advocating a policy of non-confrontation between them for a broad unity of all those wedded to secularism and democracy. Inspired by this policy, outlined jointly by late G. M. Sadiq and Syed Mir Qasim under the able guidance of our beloved Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi the party unflinchingly worked for rapprochement with the State's veteran leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to bring him.

back to the patriotic fold. The prime Minister's efforts ultimately bore fruit when early in 1975 abandoned its secessionist posture and declared State's accession to Indian Union as an irrevocable fact. This historic turn in the politics of State was followed by another significant step when Syed Mir Qasim backed by his party decided to step down from the office of Chief Minister to enable the Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to assume the leadership of the Government. To make the Kashmir accord a success, the Congress party pledged its support to the new Government under the Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to the way for bringing about a firm and stable unity of secular-democratic forces in the State.

The prominent leaders of the party are Shri Syed Mir Qasim, Shri Girdhari Lal Dogra, Shri Randhir Singh, Shri Rangil Singh, Shri Beget Chajju Ram, Shri A.G. Goni, Mohd Ayub Khan etc.

PRAJA PARISHAD :

The Praja Parishad which became vocal from 1949 in Jammu had its origin and growth largely due to the local causes. The party was formed by a group of dissident Rashtriya Sevak Sangh. The party was essentially a reaction to the aggressive trends in the local nationalism of Kashmir and protest of a region which felt politically ignored and condemned. The Praja Parishad has been the principal opposition party of Jammu and the most vocal instrument of its protest. The party was strongly influenced by

1. Source: "The Congress Wave in Jammu and Kashmir" issued by THE Jammu and Kashmir Pradesh Congress Committee.

Jan Sangh, even though it continued to have a special status within the organisation of Jana Sangh, by having a separate constitution. The Praja Parishad became regular branch of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh in 1964.

BHARTIA JANA SANGH :

The Bharatia Jana Sangh ^{was} ~~is an~~ all India party. The party has ^{great influence} ~~on the~~ Praja Parishad Party which became a regular branch of the Bharatia Jana Sangh in 1964. The objectives of the party ^{were} ~~are~~ rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of Bharatiya Sanskriti and maryada and as a political, social and economic democracy, generating ^{equality} ~~equality~~ of opportunity and liberty of person to all its citizens so as to build up a modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of others and to exert herself in the committee of nations for the establishment of world peace. The founder member of the party ~~are~~ ^{were} Shri Prem Nath Dogra, Shri Sheikh Abdul Rehman, Shri Lala Ram Nath ~~Balgotia~~, Shri Durga Dass Verma, Pt. Shyam Lal Sharma, Dr. O.N. Nagi. The prominent leaders of the party ^{were} ~~are~~ Shri Chaman Lal Gupta, Shri Rashi Kumar Koshual, Shri Sheikh Abdul Rehman, Shri Shiv Jain Gupta etc. The party has been spilt up into ^{two} ~~two~~ ^{parties} ~~sha~~ Bharatia Jana Sangh and Bharatia Lok Dal.

PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY :

In 1954 a group of National Conference workers, ^{led by} ~~led by~~ Balraj Puri and Om Prakash Saif, formed the Praja Socialist party

1. Bharatia Jana Sangh Principles and Policy.

in Jammu region. The Socialist party was the first all India party which had extended its activities to the State on its own name. The main aims and objectives of the party were;

- a/ Political integrity with the rest of the country.
- b/ Restore Civil liberties which in its view were denied after 1953.
- c/ It stood for a dialogue with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and opposed his detention without trial.
- d/ It stood for regional autonomy for three regions of the State.

The prominent leaders of the party were Shri Balraj Puri, Shri Om Prakash Saraf, Shri Mohammad Umar Butt, Shri Dhan Raj Bargotra, Shri Ganga Nath Sharma, Shri Devi Das Takhur, Shri Gurcharan Singh Bhatia. The present leaders of the party are Shri Sardar Harbans Singh, Shri Jitender Khanna, Shri Dhan Raj Bargotra etc.

PLEBISCITE FRONT :

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg and other prominent leaders of the National Conference were arrested in August 1953. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad who headed the coupe became the new premier. After two years, a new opposition party under the name of the Plebiscite Front came into existence under the leadership of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. As the time passed on, it became the most effective and influential party in the state and gained immense popularity and strength. In view of its growing

influence the party was banned in the beginning, but subsequently the ban was lifted. Its membership was thrown open to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and colour, but believe in democratic way of life. The founder members of the party were Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Sofi Mohammad Akbar, Sadar-Din-Mujahid, Ghulam Mohammad Bhaderwahi, Ali Mohammad Naik, Abdul Gani Goni, Ghulam Mohammad Shah, G.M. Bhat, ^{Ab. Akbar vakil} etc. The main office of the party was located in Mujahid Manzil, Srinagar and district and other offices were located in every town and village in the State.

The historic accord between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Government of India that ought to correct the unfortunate aberration caused in the politics of the State 22 years ago. Consistent with the spirit of the accord, the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, headed and founded by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg under the patronage of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was considered to be irrelevant and was, therefore, dissolved. In 1975 the party was redesignated as All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference.¹

COMMUNIST PARTY :

The Communist Party is an all India party and aims at the establishment of a socialistic society on the basis of Marxism through capture of power by the workers and the establishment of a proletariate State. During 1965, the State Communist party was confined to 98 members. In Jammu region the party was founded

1. "Why National Conference" op.cit.

by Shri Ram Pyara Saraf, Shri Krishen Dev Sethi, etc. The party has a State Committee comprising of five executive members. The Jammu and Kashmir Kissan Sabha, with 8000 members, a separate organisation, is working under the supervision of the Communist party of India. Besides a student organisation and a youth Federation also functions under the supervision of the Communist party.

NEWS PAPERS AND PERIODICALS

After 1857 many news papers and periodicals came into existence throughout the country, but the Jammu and Kashmir was the only State in India which did not allow the publication of any news paper or journal. The Maharaja considered any such activity as seditious and as such all applications for grant of permission were rejected with the result that no standard paper came into existence as far as 1924. However, the first weekly in the State entitled Bhaya Bilas started from Jammu in the year 1867. Ladakh phonyo in Ladhi language, was the first news paper printed and published from Ladakh. It was started by Rev. J.E. Peter of the Moravian Mission in 1903. Its publication was banned ^{by} Maharaja Partap Singh in 1908 as the publisher had not obtained permission for starting the news paper. There upon Rev. Peter applied for permission which was granted as a special case, it being made a ^{condition} ~~condition~~ on the mission not to deal with political or with matters affecting the policy of the State. The news paper was restored. Due to the anti press policy, intellectuals from the State started publication of newspapers from Allahabad, Delhi

1. Sharma, B.P. History of Jammu - & - Kashmir Main Akhbar Navizi.

VOICE OF JAMMU



President

Surinder Singh Buntly

B.A. LLB

Dated 11-6-95

Ref. No: _____

ISSUES IN J&K-PERCEPTION OF YOUTH

DONATED BY
 K. BHUSHAN
 PRO. (RETD) POL. SC
 UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
 JAMMU

J&K State at present is embedded in the web of issues which have rather attained prominence ^{both} at National as well as ^{at} International level. The burning and the most crucial issue of present violence in J&K state is the reflection of prevailing political situation in the state. It *has been* ~~have~~ observed that during the two days deliberations of the ^seminar, the issue of violence emerging out of terrorism has been debated by many eminent speakers and its various aspects have been examined and highlighted. Let us analyse who is the pivot of militancy. Obviously the answer will be that it is the youth which has today become the main source of terrorism and present violence. It is with this background in mind that indepth study of the socio-economical and political reasons for pushing the youth towards militancy becomes necessary. Another interesting feature which deserves the attention of the learned gathering is involvement of maximum youth belonging to minority communities i.e., Muslims and even Sikhs in the militant activities. One among the main causes of resentment among youth is their frustration due to unemployment, corrupt political system and discrimination in various fields due to the political as well as bureaucratic interference. However, these are common features alike for the youth of J&K state belonging to any religion or section. But on the other hand records clearly

show that majority of Muslim youth or Sikh youth have emerged as militants. If we go by the observations of Human Rights Commission, it appears that most of the young persons arrested as militants have been implicated in false cases. Chairman of Human Rights Commission when visited Srinagar on 6th June, 1994, he commented specifically on the manner in which TADA had been applied in the state. At that time some 14,475 cases had been registered in J&K under TADA of which 461 had been charge-sheeted. 3,750 cases were under investigation and in respect of another 9,835 cases, no progress had been made as the accused were untraced. Of 461 cases charge-sheeted, 445 were pending in court 16 having ended in acquittal. No conviction had been made, the state govt. itself having dropped 425 cases. Keeping this situation in mind it becomes evident that random and arbitrary arrest of many innocent persons have enhanced further bitterness and hate in the minds of many frustrated young persons, thus making some of them hardened criminals and even victim of the well planned evil designs of the enemy country i.e., Pakistan but who is to be blamed for that, the enemy who encashed the benefit of the unrealistic and ill-conceived policies of the centre, as well as the state govt. or our own fragile and weak political systems. I think we should have not any complaint against our enemy for proving its worth and exploiting our youth in ^{the state} ~~the~~ youth due to the self created circumstances. I may also mention here that a delegation of Sikh community complained regarding of

operations of Punjab Police in Jammu and harrasing many innocent young persons.

In the aforesaid discussion I have made an effort to analyse that unemployment, political interference, and economical disparity is no doubt are some of the important factors for providing a platform to the enemy forces to increase armed insurgency fuelled by cross-border terrorism and transportation of sophisticated weapons as well as trained foreign mercenaries. But we should not forget that the false convictions of the security forces, as has been also observed by our Ex-DGP Sh. M.M. Khajuria that every Muslim Youth is considered militant by the security forces required drastic changes. It is hightime when mental state of the young persons must be properly analysed and accordingly the state authorities and the security forces must bring a change in their behaviour and attitude. To conclude with let it be kept in mind that it is the youth of the state which due to the adverse circumstances and exploitation by the inner as well as outer agencies have been made instrumental to make this state volcano of violence, terrorism and crime. It is the same youth whose energies are to be rechannelised and used by the political and non-political forces of the state to control terrorism, defeat violence and check the crime.

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RETHINKING FEDERALISM DEMANDS: RETHINKING THE NATIONAL PROJECT

Harish K. Puri

The concept of federalism has undergone a change since the debate in the series of 85 essays in *The Federalist* 1787-88 by Madison, Hamilton and John Jay under the pseudonym of Publius. In Madison's No. 10, which set forth the classic exposition of the doctrine, he was deeply concerned about his understanding that constitutional forms concealed the fact that the actions of the majority were based on narrow and factional (monied) interests rather than the general welfare". (1) No less profound insight underlay an observation made by Frankfurt. As he stated: "Federal governments are not the offspring of political science; they are the product of economic and social pressures". (2) The nature of the trade off between these competing pressures continues to change. So even when the constitutionally provided structure of relations between the states and the Centre appears to be firmly in place, the politics of the constitutional and the federal process may point to significant shifts which make federalism a different question. It may be good to recall an oft-quoted passage from Woodrow Wilson's *Constitutional Government in the United States*, published in 1911. He wrote that the question of the relation of the states to the federal government is the cardinal question of our constitutional system. At every turn of our national development we have been brought face to face with it and no definition either of statesmen or judges has ever quieted or decided it. It cannot, indeed, be settled by one generation because it is a question of growth, and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question. (cited from Laslovich 1993: 188. emphasis added)

Perhaps at no point in time earlier did the question of federalism confront such a paradigm shift as it has during the last two decades or so. Let us take stock of the changes in the whole context and the challenges which underline the need for a new conceptualisation of federalism in our age with particular reference to India.

1. The first relates to the impact of the forces of globalisation and market rationality and the challenges unleashed by these processes. There is a compelling need to review the federal project as a compromise between three equally real forces: the nation, the region or state and the world." (Carlos Uentes cited in Kincaid 1995:29)

2. A significant aspect of these changes is a conceptualisation of politics as "inherently coercive" and anti-citizen. It is observed that the well being of citizens becomes vulnerable to the activities of politics and that the free competition market as the alternative to political process is a guarantee against coercion and exploitation. Federalism is therefore viewed as "an ideal political order" for good governance in a less political or non-political management. (Buchanan 1995: 19). It is regarded as an organising principle for political structure and freedom of trade across political boundaries. The central government has to be strong enough to ensure constitutional guarantees against obstruction of trading relationships and restricted from what is described as "intrusiveness of politics". (Kincaid 1995 :27) So it appears that the logic is in favour of, what Luttwak spelled out to debunk as, creation of a social order to service the needs of the economy than otherwise.

The change in the structure of economy involves another dimension. John Kenneth Galbraith discussed in a recent interview the shift in the underlying structure of the economy in USA. According to him there was a time when the old fashioned capitalists influenced the state's policies through the power of money and also had to make concessions to a wide public opinion even as in the case of Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican Party. Now that community, that political force, is in power on its own". He described it as the invasion of the government process by the rich. The managerial structure wanted to take control of the government as well as business. Now with Bush, it has. (Interview, Challenge, July-Aug 2001: 6-7)

3. Thirdly we need to understand, as Daniel Elazar emphasised, the implications of the paradigm shift from statism to federalism. It is not that the states are going to disappear but that the state system is acquiring a new dimension under the pressure of free trade and market forces. The overlay of a network of agreements such as those under WTO, NAFTA, MOUs with MNCs for foreign direct investment etc., which are binding, restricts what was called state sovereignty. This, according to him, demands a new kind of federalism involving combinations of self rule and shared rule, rather than the one accepted in modern times. (Elazar 1995:7)

It is visualised that the states in a federation would enjoy greater independence to negotiate agreements with international agencies and MNCs in a spirit of competition. But this has a price tags. One such price tag is represented by the whole story of the Union Carbide's role in Bhopal, the Enron's Dabhol project in Maharashtra and implications of the collapse of Enron, one kind of example in a situation of state autonomy. Another relates

the level of corruption the corporations spread for winning contracts. Mubashir Hasan, former Finance Minister of Pakistan, related an instance of 8 Memoranda of Understanding to build thermal electric power generation plants in Pakistan signed between Nawaz Sharief and the US Energy Secretary on one day. The total cost of the plants was \$3500 million of which \$1400 million was the component of corruption. He warned the countries of South Asia against the strong pressure exerted by the predatory international interests on our countries for liberalisation and privatisation because they are armed with frighteningly powerful economic and political levers. (Hasan 2000 : pp. 176-177)

4. Another implication of this shift relates to the post-modernist legitimization of ethnic identity. Federalism is considered as a means to solve ethnic conflicts. But there is also a deep concern that what is described as ethnic identity consciousness is essentially exclusivist. Therefore there was a sobering realization of a sad paradox that the same consciousness of ethnicity and its politicisation which make federalism in some form necessary also make it all the more difficult and less likely to succeed. (ibid.)

This also raised the issue of the tension between the protection of two kinds of liberty, individual liberty and communitarian liberty. Communitarian liberty does indirectly protect individual liberty by not allowing the majority or other communal groups to impose costs on individuals of another communal group, by denial or deprivation of rights, lands, property and dignity, identity etc. So the question of which kind of demands and powers of the community are to be tolerated within the union and which are not to be tolerated. (ibid. 38) This is of utmost importance in a polity such as that of India.

Given this broad scenario of change in the larger context let us now go over quickly the changes in the context of federalism in India during the last 50 years and more. It is evident that it is no longer the same question as it was at the beginning of the Republic or even until two decades back. Rethinking evidently involves an idea of the original project i.e. when the Constitution was adopted and the present status quo to move on to where we want to go.

The federal arrangement made in 1950 was premised on the experience of colonial subjugation and all that which led to and followed the partition of India, the imagining of a nation, and the modernization imperative that dominated post-war thinking in the world. It involved a particular kind of imagining of the past as also of the future as a vision of the collective destiny. Given the cultural reality of the sub-continent a homogenising and a pluralist trend jostled in the minds of the leaders concerned about nation-building. The new state was to strengthen the integrity of the nation through a secular framework accommodating pluralism of religious, cultural and caste beliefs and practices, democracy, and planned economic development inclined towards the creation of a just and egalitarian order.

The federal arrangement was a part of this design, not a mere question of distribution of powers and roles for administrative convenience. Indeed the creation of the powerful state apparatus was justified precisely by an appeal to erect a strong state which alone can attend to the task of justice. The emphasis was on Union Government's commanding, protective and transformational roles.

The Union-centred federal arrangement was bolstered by One Party Dominant System which ruled practically all the states until the 1967 elections. There were formidable challenges and the balance of contending interests and forces was changing. A perceptive political observer Carl J. Friedrich observed at that time:

Federalism has been instrumental in shaping Indian politics, enabling this vast and complex cultural entity to keep discourse open, to diminish fanaticism, and to search for broadly acceptable solutions. (cited from Bombwall 1964: p.)

However, processes of centralisation of power and erosion of institutions became more prominent soon thereafter, unleashing waves of resentments and realignment of political forces. Besides imposition of internal emergency one of the most ill-advised and counter-productive measures was the Union Government's recourse to Article 356 for dismissing elected governments and imposition of central rule in the states. The Sarkaria Commission, after a detailed review of the then 75 cases of President's Rule, came to the conclusion that in 49 (65%) cases it was clearly unjustified. That became a prominent reason for demands for state autonomy and alignment of regional forces against the Union and contributed significantly to accentuation of political conflict and insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, and the North-eastern states. Financial distribution of resources has been another point of contention.

But there were other significant unintended developments.

1. There was a time when linguistic or regional demands were considered disastrously parochial or/and anti-national. We remember that when the formation of Andhra Pradesh had to be conceded, Jawahar Lal Nehru was extremely apprehensive. We are on the verge of a civil war, he sensed with anguish and went on to say, We have disturbed a hornets' nest and I believe most of us are likely to be badly stung. Since then a number of new states have been carved out in response to demands of the people of the region. It no more arouses any fear of dismemberment of India.

2. Of particular significance was the establishment by now of 19 Autonomous District Councils spread over 9 states of India under Article 371. 4. The Union Government is no more shy of negotiated political settlements such as the Mizoram, Assam and Punjab Accords. Problems of not adhering to the terms of the Accord relates to another domain.

The so-called wise men such as Huntington, Harrison and Neville Chamberlain may well be intrigued about India's ability to hold together. The federal democratic process has made disintegration of India a remote possibility. For the states composing 95 per cent of India's population the question is of more decentralised and less intrusive centre. For the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland and may be Punjab it is more a question of greater autonomy which are well within the range of negotiated settlement.

3. More significant is the radical change in the national political scenario. One party dominance has practically vanished. Hereafter the Union governments may only be coalitional accommodating in varying shades the plurality of India. The role that regional political parties and regional leaders have come to play at the Centre have removed the great psychological irritant that the Congress governments had symbolised for long. The abuse of Article 356 may be far less likely and the irritant can be tackled through conventions. So is the case with the appointment and role of the Governors. There is much greater compulsion for adherence to the federal nature of the political process.

The most serious failure, however, related to the virtual negation of the national project of equity and justice. The Directive Principles commanded the state, to regulate and redirect the market forces in ways which achieve the common good and avoid common detriment. The state failed, to curb, what Randhir Singh described as the structurally inherent predatory logic of India's capitalist development. Even with regard to the special poverty alleviation measures, no less a person that the Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi is on record for the statement that not more than 15% of the funds reached those poor for whom these were allocated. The assessment that the country was divided into two nations India versus Bharat -- has been shared by many scholars. Following a study of the secessionist sentiment in the 3 Baltic nations and the vote for independence in East Timor Walker Connor made a profound observation that "Such high levels of pro-separatist sentiment reflect a startling level of anti-state sentiment". According to him ethno-national aspiration, by their very nature, are more obsessed by the dream of freedom from, say an unjust and repressive state, than freedom to, create a new social order. In a substantial majority of cases of secessionist ethno-national struggles, most members may be prepared to settle for autonomy rather than independence. The exercise for rethinking federalism has to be focussed on the kind of social and political order we want to create in our plural and complex society known for poverty of the very large section of its people. Federalism is not merely a political device for governance i.e. division of the coercive power of the state to serve the competing factions of the economic and political interests. The forces of liberalisation and globalisation pose a serious threat more because of alliance of India's rich with the foot-loose MNCs.

It calls for rethinking on how do we strengthen the state for effective regulation of international economic forces regarding their role in our economy and politics? how do we check the politics of intolerance and exclusion, particularly by those forces which claim to speak for the majority community? Ethno-national conflict is more often fed not by facts but perceptions of the fact. How do we make the people participants in the making of tomorrow? This calls for not only greater devolution of power to the states and to Panchayati Raj institutions but also transparency and accountability through right of information on what and how these bodies do what they do. How do we change the disfigured politics? If new vistas open up with the information technology and the social component remains in darkness, you cannot have politics for shaping a good future. Empowerment of the people to make politics a process of countering the market forces rather than allow privatisation of public property and authority.

There has to be greater attention given to the process of federal politics and above all to constitutional morality. Rethinking federalism is about clarity on the above issues on which we have allowed tremendous fuzziness in minds and deeds.

Appendix II

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

As is now well known there is a nation-wide movement afoot among the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State to bring about a complete change in the social and political outlook of the people. This movement is not confined to any particular community or section of the public but all classes of people have begun participating in it with the fullest consciousness of the issues it involves. But we do make it perfectly clear at the very outset, that our loyalty to His Highness' person and throne is unswerving and needs no reiteration.

The ultimate political goal of this movement is the achievement of complete Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. But as sponsors of this National movement we feel that it is our bounden duty to acquaint all our country-men as also others who are interested in it of the immediate objective we have in view. It is with this purpose that we are issuing the present manifesto and we sincerely trust that it will not only convey a fair idea of our immediate aims to all concerned, but also remove all those misunderstandings that are being deliberately disseminated from various interested quarters. Our movement is essentially a movement of peace and goodwill. Immediately, it aims at securing the elementary and basic rights of citizenship. It shall certainly try to bring about such a state of affairs in this country as would make it possible for even the humblest subject of His Highness to contribute to making of his own destinies. Our demands are modest, but they have the force of reason and justice behind them. Not that we are not conscious of our limitations. Not that we are not fully

aware of the fact that the Government knows its mind and has resources at its disposal to enforce its will. But in the soul-stirring words of Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, "However much we may be enfeebled in body, our soul has never been nor will ever be killed".

Our movement has a gigantic urge behind it. It is the urge of hunger and starvation which propels it onwards in most adverse circumstances.

The ever growing menace of unemployment amongst our educated youngmen and also among the illiterate masses in the country, the incidence of numerous taxes, the burden of exorbitant land revenue, the appalling waste of human life due to want of adequate modern medical assistance, the miserable plight of uncared for thousands of labourers outside the State boundaries, and in face of all this the patronage that is being extended by the Government in the shape of subsidies and other amenities to outside capitalists, as also the top heavy administration that daily becomes heavier, point to only one direction that present conditions can never be bettered as long as a change is not made in the basic principles that are underlying the present system of Government.

Ours is essentially an age of progress. Systems that were in vogue yesterday are pronounced obsolete to-day. Fresh forces are daily making their appearance on world's stage. In British Indian Provinces fullest autonomy has been introduced and before long they will have a large measure of responsibility at the centre. These are all our neighbours and some of them can in no way favourably compare with us in the matter of population, literacy and other tests. Can we remain untouched by all this? It is impossible for any power on earth to crush an idea when it has once taken root in men's minds. An idea, all of us know, has been pronounced as the most dynamic of all world forces. The force of this argument has not failed to make an impression on the minds of such British statesmen as Lords Winterton and Lothian who have more than once expressed themselves in sympathetic agreement with the legitimate aspirations of the State subjects.

Our cause is both righteous, reasonable and just. We

want to be the makers of our own destinies and we want to shape the ends of things according to our choice, of course under the august patronage of His Highness.

We have also come to the conclusion that without such a change it is impossible for the communities individually or the country collectively to progress. We are, therefore, of this firm belief that the Government of His Highness should before long be modelled on the following lines :

(A) The present system of administration in the State shall be replaced by Responsible Government subject to the general control and residuary powers of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur as hereinafter mentioned.

(B) The Ministry shall be responsible to the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature and shall have, subject to such responsibility, power to control the expenditure of the revenues of the State and also to make such grants and appropriation of any part of those revenues, or of any other property, which is at present under the control or disposal of the council as reserved expenditure, save and except the following, which shall remain under the control of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur :

1. Expenditure of the Military services.
2. Expenditure classes as political and foreign.
3. Payments of all debts and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted and incurred by His Highness in Council on account of Government of Kashmir.
4. The Dharmarth Trust.

(C) The principle of Responsibility to the Legislature shall be introduced in all branches of administration of the Government subject to general control, reservations and residuary powers vested in His Highness in respect of control of Military, foreign and political affairs etc., provided that the proposal of His Highness for appropriations of any revenues or moneys for Military, or other expenditure for foreign and political purposes, shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, but that His Highness shall have power notwithstanding the vote of the Assembly to appropriate upto a fixed maximum any sum His Highness may consider necessary for such expenditure.

(D) The Legislature shall consist entirely of members elected by constituencies formed on the system of adult franchise provision should be made for the representation of labour, trade, landlords and educational interests in the Legislature by means of election.

(E) The election to the Legislature shall be made on the basis of joint electorates; seats should be reserved for the minorities and all other safeguards and weightages would be guaranteed to them in the constitution for the protection of their legitimate linguistic, religious, cultural, political and economic rights according to the principles enunciated, accepted or acted upon by the Indian National Congress from time to time. In addition to the above the religious rights and sentiments of all the communities should always be respected and not interfered with.

(F) All the subjects of State, without distinction of creed or caste, shall be admitted for services in all armies of defence and for that purpose His Highness shall be assisted by a Minister responsible to the Assembly.

(G) No subject of His Highness shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or of association and free speech or in respect of writing except under sentence by an ordinary court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial.

We have given in a nutshell our immediate objective. We know that all this cannot be given for the mere asking. It requires wise statesmanship from the side of the Government. Our earnest desire is to avoid a strife. Let Government make an announcement accepting the above principle, and if His Highness' Government is pleased to discuss these principles with us we shall certainly and whole-heartedly co-operate for this purpose. We are sure that if this is done there will reign peace all round.

(Sd.) S.M. ABDULLAH, KASHYAP BANDHU, M.M. SAEED, G.M. SADIQ, P.N. BAZAZ, S. BUDH SINGH, JIA LAL KILAM, G.M. BAKSHI, SHAM LAL SARAF, SHAMBOO NATH PESHIN, M.A. BEG, AHMAD YAR,

AUGUST 1938

Regionalism and Nationalism

A "region" may be defined as an area or division without definite boundaries or characteristics. It is a geographical abstraction. The word "nation" (an even greater distraction) has a racial or ethnical meaning. In this sense a nation can be taken to mean a people welded together in a society by ties of blood-relationship. Some political commentators do not however regard common descent as an essential element. To them, nation is "a population of an ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of geographical unity".

Regionalism implies loyalty, attachment and devotion of a people to their region because of a common language and literature, common traditions and history, and a common consciousness of rights and wrongs. So the basis of nationalism is a common or general consciousness and cohesion which serves as a cementing factor. Nationalism is the binding factor; it has led to the development of the well-known "my country, right or wrong" concept. It is based on local factors—the local surroundings, the familiar land and people.

Patriotism and love of one's country are universal virtues. Nationalism has throughout history been an impelling force that has prompted many movements, social, economic and even political. Any nation that has a rich tradition of cultural and other values, a sense of self-respect and has commendable goals will be wholly nationalist in outlook, with the patriotic fervour colouring all their activities.

Nor do the values a nation cherishes, and the rights of the individuals constituting it, get eroded with the progress of industrialisation because it represents an essential part of the mental and spiritual equipment of all rational and responsible men and women. Every true citizen cherishes his country's traditions and realises his country's manifold problems. For this reason, nationalism never becomes an obsolete or ir-

relevant concept. It is a persistent and unmatched quality never to be abandoned or diluted.

In his Autobiography Jawaharlal Nehru said "nationalism is essentially an anti-feeling, and it feeds and fattens on hatred and anger against other national groups and especially against the foreign rulers of a subject country. Nationalism is regarded as a natural and healthy growth; in fact for any subject-country national freedom must be a dominant urge. The nationalist idea in India, as elsewhere, has been deep and strong, especially during the long freedom struggle. If we give up our basic traditions and lose our worries, we become rootless.

An equally great danger is that while nationalism in general is a healthy cementing and inspiring force, it becomes restrictive and reactionary after the country has been liberated from a foreign yoke. In Asia, in particular, a movement will succeed or fail in the measure that it associates itself with the deep-seated urge of nationalism.

In a contest between nationalism and internationalism it is nationalism that wins. Internationalism of course has a strong appeal for people who are well educated and hence have a broad vision. But the nationalistic fervour triumphs most of the time, just as the urgency of attaining immediate materialistic ends always scores when the alternative is a distant, ephemeral, elusive goal that is attractive and advocated by philosophers and intellectuals confined to their ivory towers. The universal man, it has been rightly said, is a faceless, bloodless ghost, an empty name that has no concrete feature or content.

Both regionalism and nationalism imply the concept of loyalty, attachment and commonness. But loyalty, which is generally a virtue, also becomes a vice. While discussing the subject "Citizenship of the World", Bertrand Russell wrote: "Loyalty may be defined as willingness to make personal sacrifices for the good of a

group of which one is a member." Men can, and do, feel loyalty to many different kinds of groups, of which family, nation, race, class, party, creed, are the most important. The first three are biological, the last three mental. Buddha, Christ and the Stoics taught that we ought to feel loyalty to all mankind, but so far their teaching has had little effect.

As a result of inadequate understanding, however, several persons in many countries and regions often associate nationalism with a narrow, even biased, outlook. Limited vision and petty-mindedness that is wholly unpardonable. The earnest advocates of a broad vision, of a sense of universality and of an extension of outlook beyond a country's frontiers wrongly assert that there is an intrinsic conflict between regionalism and nationalism and between nationalism and internationalism.

The belief that nationalism dictates isolation from the rest of the world is totally unwarranted. For many years the people of Burma, for instance, kept themselves aloof from the international community in the erroneous belief that contacts with the outside world would taint and possibly ruin their ancient culture. Ultimately they realised their mistake. Living in total isolation befits only the saints, sages and men devoted wholly to spiritualism. One can be a true nationalist as well as a good internationalist as, for example, Jawaharlal Nehru was. No conflict or incompatibility is involved in the two concepts, either in theory or in practice. This is particularly evident in a progressive civilisation on which the latest advances in technology, especially in communications have created a new kind of inter-dependence.

According to internationalists, in the tension-ridden world of today it is very important to generate new loyalties which transcend the boundaries of national States. But can loyalty be extended from the national State to a supra-national group of States? The problem is difficult, both politically

and psychologically.

Loyalty has an instinctive basis: it seems to be natural to human beings to view members of their own herd with feelings that are friendly in the absence of specific causes of hostility, and to view everyone else with feelings that are hostile, in the absence of special reasons for friendliness. In addition to the instinctive grounds of loyalty, there are others that have a more or less rational basis. The chief of these are common interests and common beliefs. Among groups generated by the former are pirate crews, invading armies, and companies for the development of backward areas; among the latter, political parties and religious sects. But loyalties of this sort are not very secure under stress, unless they have a backing in instinctive loyalties or a very obvious and compelling appeal to self-interest. It is this that causes the difficulty in generating a supra-national loyalty.

The concepts of nation and of the nation-State are allied to the forces of regionalism and nationalism. A nation may not be sovereign while a State always is. The practical forms which their ideas acquired are of comparatively recent origin, not more than three hundred years old. But they do highlight the problem of human identity itself; the problem is only partly transferred to yet another collective entity. Tackling this problem requires another value as regards human personality which is described independent of the identity which the group, the nation and the State seek to give to the individual. The terms "nation" and "State" are not however synonymous. The United Nations is actually an international organisation of sovereign States and not nations. A nation cannot be identified with a State. A mere organisation of people under one government does not make them a nation.

Regional Conflicts: Armed and other types of conflict in the second half of the 20th century have occurred in several continents and even between countries belonging to different continents because of rivalries, unadjusted territorial claims and the unpublicised backing of the mighty powers, notably the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

Regional conflicts naturally differ

in the pattern, the content, the causes and the duration. But most of them emanate from local issues and on local soil as a result of inner national or regional contradictions. There are different causes, the colonial past, the frequent expansionist policies and the ethnic clashes. According to international experts, regional conflicts are of three types.

First, those occurring between systems—when class contradictions and the struggle between the two socio-economic systems are being resolved on a regional or national level. Such conflicts as, for instance, on the Indo-Chinese peninsula in 1964-1973 or in Korea in the 1950s, are dangerous for universal peace; they directly or indirectly involve the two systems with commitments to their allies, and their potential for widespread destruction.

The second type of conflict is caused by the contradictions between imperialism and the national liberation movement. A graphic example of such a conflict was furnished (until recently) by the situation in South Africa and the problem of granting independence to Namibia.

The third type belongs to the category of inter-imperialist and inter-capitalist conflicts, between developing countries as well. They reflect the contradictions between the "old" and "new" capitalism or bear the imprint of the process of national consolidation, of national communities in the making. Such conflicts, as for instance, the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1971, the one connected with the formation of the Republic of Bangladesh, the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation of 1963-1966 and others, are primarily of local character. By complicating the general international situation, they endanger universal peace in case of involvement in them of the great, especially nuclear powers. Regional conflicts have also occurred in the past two decades in Central America, Latin America, the Far East (Kampuchea). They create dangers of armed clashes and have in fact caused many major and minor wars.

Regionalism has been much in evidence in France, West Germany, Spain where the tyranny of the major group has caused adverse reactions. An expert on the development of

regionalism wrote some time ago: "France is the classic land of political unity, and administrative centralisation. It is also the classic land of regionalism. Regionalist movements in other countries have taken France as an example."

Regionalism in India: Before and after the formation of linguistic States in India there have been, and still there are, regional conflicts on various issues. In fact, nationalism has been at a discount and regional forces have dominated the social and political scene. This is evident in the emergence of more and more regional parties and the inability of the national parties to spread their influence all over the country. The political fragmentation and the splitting up of loyalties apart, there is the disconcerting emergence of terrorism as a manifestation of regionalism and as a protest against the allegedly discriminatory and inequitable policies of the Centre. The Telegu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, the DMK in Tamil Nadu and the AGP in Assam are some outstanding examples of regional entities. The strong and constantly reinforced regional forces have been responsible, at least in part, for the baffling phenomena of terrorism and militancy in Punjab, Kashmir and in the North-East region, Assam being the latest example (Bodos' violent activities). In all these disturbed areas there seems to be a sense of desperation among the malcontents many of whom have adopted the cult of the gun under the erroneous belief that they are thus promoting their regional cause and more important to them—protecting their distinct identity. To them, all the stress on nationalism has little meaning.

Several sociologists have further drawn the conclusion that religious fundamentalism of the Sikhs in Punjab and of the Muslims in J & K are also manifestations of regionalism as against forces of nationalism. The latter should predominate over local and regional compulsions but it is a pity that this is not so. In a genuine, full-fledged democracy, regional and other restrictive forces should not be permitted to check the development of a broad, liberal outlook. These forces are in a way a blot on democracy. But there is always the possibility of a healthy adjustment; this is in fact what the democratic concept stands for.

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INDO-SOVIET CULTURAL SOCIETY
JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Circular.

Palace Road,
Jammu-Tawi.
22 Feb 1990

Dear Friend,

This is just to inform you that the proposed meeting of Jammu Regional Council of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society scheduled for 23rd has been postponed to 28th of February, 1990.

The change has been effected on the request of Comrade Raj Kumar, General Secretary, National Council of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society.

Comrade Raj Kumar has communicated that due to some urgency he is unable to reach Jammu on 23rd. Hence the change in date.

The time and venue of the meeting
remains same.

S.P.M. India's coffee house

AGENDA

1. Discussion on a view point on the developments in the Soviet Union.
2. Work Report & Future Plan.
3. Resolution.
4. Any other matter with the permission of the chair.

Regards,

Yours fraternally

Kalwant Manhas
(KALWANT MANHAS)
General Secretary

Shri

V. Bhushan
H.D. Pol. Secy

A VIEW POINT ON THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

It is being claimed in India and all over the world that the social system in the Soviet Union has failed and that Soviet Union has abandoned the historic mission it undertook 73 years ago and that it is now repudiating socialism. The tumult caused by temporary difficult and even some set-backs in Soviet Union in the process of renovating the existing socio-economic ~~form~~ formation and to make it effective in order to play more vigorous role in the struggle for peace, disarmament, International and regional security and for movement of national advance, democracy and social progress. Some circles have set in-to motion unprecedented activity to spread confusion among adherents of socialism and to destabilize the system to shake confidence of millions looking with hope towards that country as a shining example of socialism, a bulwork of peace, social progress national regeneration and democracy.

2. The Soviet socialist system has many achievements to its credit. The striking progress in social welfare and material and cultural level its people have achieved in such short period are outstanding examples of social advance which is unmatched with any country during the 20th century where unemployment and other ills of society were eliminated and rapid rates of growth were attained through the process of economic planning. The fact that one time a backward country, the Soviet Union, made these striking achievements in the backdrop of continuous attacks, blockades, subversion and attempts at destabilisation by imperialism is an incontrovertible proof of the viability of the social system it built.

3. Nevertheless negative trends surfaced in the process of renovation resulting in slowing down of the rates of growth, shortages of some consumer goods, rise of ethnic problems, emergence of inter-republic disputes, etc; and the harmful consequences of errors of personality cult. As accumulative affects of these trends, inertia in the General Public was caused at a time when efforts to overcome the dogmatic practices were initiated in the system.

4. However, it is a matter of concern that in the process of renewal and restructuring some circles in the Soviet socialist society should have succeeded to stir up ethnic disputes and separatist demands and to attempt to equate the principals of self-determined status of nations and nationalities with separatism or to make advocacy for secession as an alternatives. These demands are all the more undesirable in the Soviet Union where

nationalities and ethnic communities were to establish their national identities and status to establish equality and brotherhood themselves -self's and rapidly raise their economic and cultural levels and guarantee their security.

5. However, the potential of new thought in the political and economic field has revealed the inherent strength of the system to start removing rigid over-centralisation of economic planning and production, bureaucratic administrative system, denial of the role of market forces and suppression of democracy and popular participation in running the social and state affairs of the Soviet Society.

6. The new thinking is obviously a further positive development of socialist thought which generalised the experience of all, contemporary and past systems including capitalism. Therefore it should not be taken as something backward revision of the scientific thought. It has given new dimensions to question of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. It places the growing interdependence and integrity of different socio-economic formations in correct relationship which are caused by global revolution of science and technology and development of world economy and the realization of need to save human race from the danger of nuclear and ecological disaster. In international relations the new thinking is profoundly expressed in innumerable and unceasing initiatives for disarmament, peace, and security which have given rise to a markedly new political climate in the world in which the possibility of outlawing nuclear and chemical weapons are no more a distant reality.

6. Now, in the Soviet Society, efforts are afoot to eliminate bureaucratic inefficiency, waste and corruption to maximise democratic functioning and enhance people's participation in the conduct of public affairs. A law governed state is being substituted for bureaucratic practices and for new model of governance where there should be no place for arbitrariness and authoritarianism. These efforts surely prove that far from showing any failure of the system, the changes being introduced in the Soviet Society are demonstrative of the inner strength and self-improving capacity of socialist system to rectify mistakes and self-reliantly renew itself.

The difficulties which Soviet Union is experiencing are temporary but the changes which are contemplated in the final analysis, will strengthen socialist system and fulfil the mission it entered 73 years ago.

Dogras with dogri mother tongue is single largest linguistic community in Jammu region. As an indispensable geopolitical link between the Kashmir valley and rest of India, Jammu is as important strategically and sensitively as Kashmir region of J&K State. However, geographical boundaries - between the Ravi and Pirpanchal, to the greater extent, have contributed in the evolution of distinct personality of this region.

Unfortunately Kashmiri leaders, during their struggle against autocracy, often insisted on calling Hari's rule in the state as Dogra rule. They forgot that Dogra was not only the name of the ruling family but also the community living in Jammu region. Thus, they alienated the Dogra people.

The popular sentiments in Jammu region believing the Maharaja as the symbol of their security against the majority population of Kashmir region, linked their fate and security with the Maharaja. The Dogra nationalists in Jammu region, particularly believing the Maharaja as a political and cultural symbol, sided with him in his attempt to retain more and more powers in pre-independence period. It seemed to Dogra nationalists that prospectus of democracy would be nothing more than being exposed to the whims of a permanent majority of (Kashmiri muslims) the state and its leadership. They, thus, opposed the very basis of Kashmir's struggle for freedom. Their open condemnation of Maharaja or Dogra rule not only created but hardened.

their distrust against Kashmiri leadership. They, therefore, opposed every political move from the valley without evaluating its plus and minus points. They, thus, played a negative role throughout the period of struggle for freedom in Kashmir.

In order to have a greater security against the Maharaja's arbitrary the Kashmir nationalists, on the other hand, struggled for the transfer of greater degree of powers to the state legislature. They perceived their security only in democracy which among other attributes, meant majority rule.

However, the post-independence politics of Jammu appeared to be both inter-regional and intra-regional conflicts. Believing their greater security with Indian Union, the Dogra Nationalists of Jammu demanded full integration of the state with India in post-independence. The ouster of Maharaja and subsequent abolition of monarchy further deepened the distrust of majority in Jammu against Kashmiri leadership. They could not visualize that the days of kings and princes had gone. Because of their negative attitudes they even opposed the most needed and most radical reforms of national conference government such as liquidation of rural indebtedness, abolition of big landed estates and land to the tillers. They under the banner of Praja-Parishad - the Principal opposition party, most vocal instrument of its protest and most authentic voice of Jammu - opposed the incorporation of Article 370 in the Indian constitution under which state secured a special status. They raised the slogans EK PRADHAN, EK VIDHAN and EK NISHAN. They were not in a mood of raising the voice for right of Jammu viz-a-viz - that of Kashmir. They narrowed down their demands to such a limits that they even lost the confidence of Jammu muslims. Some of the representation of Jammu muslims even

approach the Goyt to protect them from Parishad terrorism. The Hindu Dogras, likewise, opposed the convening of the state assembly and framing a separate constitution.

Due to their minority against Indian majority, the Kashmir nationalists, on the other, wanted maximum autonomy and stood for limited accession of the state with Indian Union. Thus, for making Article 370 as a permanent feature of the Indian constitution. Sheikh Abdullah in his letter to Dr. Mukerjee Dt. 4th Feb. 1953 made it clear that so far as they were concerned they had maintained that the special position accorded to the state could alone be the source of a growing unity and closer association between the state and India. He further stressed that assembly of India took note of special circumstances obtaining in the state and made provisions accordingly. But if the basis of that relationship was sought to be altered, certain lasting consequences were bound to follow.

The Dogra nationalists led by Praja-Parishad always pleaded for transfer of more and more powers from Kashmir to Delhi rather than powers for Jammu itself. They never thought collectively about the whole of the state of J & K and their place in it. The Praja-Parishad leaders rather delivered the speeches "our way is not with Kashmir. Sheikh is not acceptable to us." whereas Sheikh-Abdullah's efforts all along had been to rally the entire population of the state to a sense of basic unity and to work for the cause of building of the New Kashmir. The Kashmiri nationalist group, therefore, demanded maximum autonomy for the state.

In short regional sentiments helped to fragment popular discontent and regional tension brought the regional cordiality to an end.

As a result P.P. demanded the right of self-determination for Jammu and termed Delhi Agreement of 1952 as a trend on Indian people and an attack on Indian constitution and P.E.

(5)

Dogra threatened to launch a satyagrah if the agreement was enforced. P.P. Bakshi by Jash Singh started agitation against Delhi agreement as soon as the steps were taken to enforce its provisions. Meanwhile Kaushak Bakula, Head Lama of Ladakh and member of consensibility demanded for a statutory provision for Ladakh in future constitution of the State. A section of Doda district led by A.G. Goni too stressed that Doda should be given a status of a separate cultural unit. They demanded that the State to be divided into as many as five cultural units, each with equal status and to enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their internal affairs. Even Dr. Mukerjee in his letter to Sheikh Abdullah Dt. 4-2-1953 confirmed the sense of insecurity among the Jammu Hindus and in his letter to Pt. Nehru Dt. 12-2-1953 suggested grant of provincial autonomy to Jammu and Ladakh without the change of boundaries. Pt. Nehru too in his reply to Mukerjee appreciated the idea of regional autonomy. Sheikh Abdullah while broadcasting from Radio Kashmir Srinagar on April 17th, 1953 also proposed to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the State. The idea seemed to be that a measure of autonomy in their internal affairs would remove the fears of each of these units against the others and would provide a moral natural and non-communal impetus for a sense of belonging as well as political participation; such a sense of belonging alone could effectively counter the appeal for secession in the valley and communalism in Jammu.

But when the basic principal committee of the consensibility was instructed to study the idea of extending autonomy to each unit and to make recommendations accordingly, the integrationists of Jammu rejected this idea also. Perhaps their policy for the search for security induced them to follow a negative approach and to agitate for highly unified constitution. In the similar manner they opposed Sadar - i - Riyasat as the head of the State,

a separate emblem and a separate flag for the state. They regarded these as counter to their concept of a strong unite centre. Such a stand of Jammu guaranteed reaction in ~~meanwhile~~ with the death of the valley provoked some of the Kashmiris to consolidate secessionist groups and to form secessionist Party. B. P. Sharma was of the view that the role of Jammu and Kashmir in state politics was complimentary to each other though unwillingly. This observation had also been confirmed by the statement of Mr. Gurcharansingh Bhatia in early 1953 when he said "National conference and Praja Parishad represent urges of the aggressive local nationalism of Kashmir and Jammu respectively. The outbursts of the Kashmiri leaders against Jammu help Praja Parishad in mobilizing the public support while anti-Kashmiri campaign of the P.P. simply provokes and intensifies Kashmiri nationalism of which Sheikh Abdullah is the hero". Balsaj also confirmed the same view and said that the Praja Parishad and the national ^{helped} conference by polarising the politics of the state ^{helped} each other in consolidating their hold on their respective communities. (J & K P. 107)

Suddenly inflammatory reports spread that Sheikh was thinking to declare Kashmir an independent, the idea of which said to have been mooted by American Statesmen Mrs. and Mr. Henderson during their visit to Kashmir in May 1953. Sheikh was unluckily blamed for the tone and contents of his speeches delivered in 1952-53. The tragedy was that Sheikh Abdullah was misunderstood and his urge for maximum autonomy for the state was just taken for independence. All long he tried to avoid the disintegration of the state. That was why, in order to accommodate the wishes of the masses of the different regional and cultural units of the state. He and his colleagues were working to create a republic, with federal set up, within the republic. Even Sri Amar Kashitriya Prantik Sabha Jammu pledged a -ve role and passed a resolution condemning the idea of republic within republic and the adoption of state emblem. It termed the consensory of Kashmir as bogus consensory.

①
Meanwhile with the sudden death of Dr. S.P. Mukerjee in detention, the whole northern India plunged into profound grief and submerged by a kind of Anti-Nehru and Anti-Abdullah wave. P.P. refused to believe that death occurred in natural circumstances and charged Sheikh Abdullah as murder in spite of the fact he pleaded to be innocent.

However, the first popular elected Sheikh Ministry was dismissed on 8th August, 1953 and Sheikh along with his other supporters were arrested on 9th August. But Sheikh's political martyrdom had made him a popular hero of Kashmir once again. Bakshi, who succeeded Sheikh, while broadcasting from Radio Kashmir on 21st August 1953, declared, "the rights and privileges that we secure for the State as a whole have to be shared in equal measure by the people of its different parts; the govt to secure equal share of its beneficent activities to the people of various constituent units of the State and to safeguard representation of all regions in every sphere of administration and social life. (J+K(B)-P128-129).

Dogra Nationalists seemed to be pacified with the fall of first Sheikh Ministry and his arrest. That was why, Praja Parishad leaders easily fell in the trap of Bakshi, who required their support to consolidate his political position. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra in his letter to Bakshi D71-2-1954 remanded him his assurances made to him and pleaded for their fulfilment. However, the basic Principal committee submitted report to the assembly which was adopted unanimously with minor amendment on 6th Feb. 1954. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra in his 15 pages memorandum submitted to the President of India on first April 1954 raised number of objections against the constitutional proposals. Here again he demanded the shift of more and more powers from Kashmir to the central govt rather than demanding the sharing of political powers with Kashmir. Bakshi succeed in creating defection with P.P. by distributing favours to some of its leaders.

Even after the merger of P.P. in Jama Saugh in 1964 the Dogra Nationalists of Jammu continued to play a negative role. They were always worried about the shift of more and more powers from Kashmir to Delhi but never thought and fought for Jammu's status within the State and for Jammu to be equitable partner with the valley in exercise of Political

With regrets it is to be pointed out that Jammu protests and sacrifices during all the years got into a defeatist channel. The Dogra nationalist failed to understand that the lack of adequate share in political power was one of the basic problems of Jammu. Jammu needed the safeguards within the state on precisely the same grounds on which Kashmir feels the need within Indian union.

India too played a negative role. The Indian leadership always thought that Jammu and Ladakh had no other place except India. Whenever, therefore, people of Jammu raised their voice for their rights, they were doubted by them as communalist. Their eyes always focussed on valley in order to improve their secular image in the world. Whatever concessions were given, given to the valley and they did not bother much for Jammu and Ladakh regions. Even in Post Indira-Sheikh accord of 1975 when Sheikh accepted the finality of state accession to India and disbanded plebiscite Front, instead of fighting for the right of Jammu, the Congress Party.

Some individuals and groups in Jammu, though in minority, with not much popular basis did try to play a position role also. In the earlier phase the demand for recognition of Jammu's regional identity, regional leadership and its equitable share in the power, structure of the state was made by a group within the framework of national conference. The Jammu District National Conference led by Balraj Puri group passed formal resolution as early as 1949, demanding the abolition of the institution of monarchy and the powers transferred to the people of Jammu also and not merely from Maharaja to Kashmiri leaders. The important leaders of Jammu like Gopal Dutt Mengi and Jyotshi Ram-Krishnan also. These demands of national conference. But soon after the abdication of Maharaja in 1949, this group was expelled from the National Conference.

Unfortunately, such leaders were not given National Conference mandate in constituency elections of 1951.

Balraj Puri and others, however, continued to suggest political means to define Jammu's status in the state. His main emphasis was that whatever

measures of autonomy had been promised to the state within Indian Union should also be conceded to Jammu region on the similar grounds. He not only supported the radical reforms like land reforms but also incorporation of article 370 in the Indian constitution. His stand was to fight for the right of Jammu and its status vis-a-vis of Kashmir without offending the people of Kashmir by agitating against the Kashmir's special status in Indian union and her right to defend maximum autonomy. Even at the time of negotiation for the Delhi agreement of 1952, he pleaded for regional autonomy for Jammu.

The J + K Kashmir youth conference and friends of new Kashmir, Delhi also played a role to articulate Jammu's regional urges on secular lines. The Socialist groups also demanded the regional autonomy for Jammu. Later on they formed P.S. Party. The Praja Socialist Party not only supported autonomy of state within Indian union but decentralization of powers among different regions in order to improve inter-regional cordiality.

A Jammu autonomy forum was set up under the Presidentship of Balraj Puri in June 1967 to press the demand of regional autonomy. A Group of Jan Sangh workers led by S. Bachan Singh Panchhi left the party to support the autonomous status of Jammu. Even P.N. Bazaz, Shamim-Ahmed-Shamim, Mubarak Shah and other prominent citizens of different communities - also supported this demand.

However Jaya Prakash Narayan pleaded for Sheikh's release and for starting fresh dialogue with him. Thus, in January 1968 after his release third time since 1953, Sheikh met P.M. of India. He convened J + K State people's convention in Oct. 1968. Jammu was represented in steering committee of the convention by Balraj Puri. The convention debated the inter regional relations in the state. The consensus emerged that any solution of the state's future should be 'peaceful, democratic, just and realistic and keep in view the interests of all the regions, strengthen secular democratic forces, foster communal harmony and be in conformity with the values of the freedom movement. According to Balraj Puri, "The convention also accepted

to Balraj Puri the inter-regional boundaries of Pre-1947 state and set at rest a controversy which was one of the sources of tensions in inter-regional relations. The atrocities committed by the Pak armies on their muslim brothers in civil war in East Pakistan, the assistance rendered by India to them and subsequent emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country had a considerable effect on Kashmir Politics. It strengthened the secular forces, reduced the bargaining capacity of the Kashmiri leaders to balance India and Pakistan, created popular disillusionment with Pakistan and resurgence of regional Patriotism against the appeal of muslim solidarity. (J & K P 170).

This Indo-Pak war of 1971 and emergence of Bangladesh created favourable atmosphere for the negotiations between Kashmiri and Indian leadership to sort out differences. Some of the national as well as the state personalities tried to play mediatory role between Sheikh Abdullah and Indian leadership. Balraj Puri claimed to be one of those and helped Jammu to a bridge rather than barrier between Kashmir and rest of the country. But the state Jan Sangh still remained adamant against placating the Kashmir leaders particularly Sheikh Abdullah.

However, After 22 years the wisdom dawned upon the Indian leaders once again that Sheikh Abdullah was an undisputed leader of the valley and only person who could set at rest the most of the controversies about Kashmir accession and others. The negotiation between P.M. and Sheikh started and resulted into Indira-Sheikh accord of 1975.

For over half a century, till his death Sheikh Abdullah symbolized the aspirations of regional national of Kashmir. He could, therefore, had the capacity to settle the problem of inter-regional relations. In the last phase of his life he reacted sharply even the slightest provocation from Jammu region. For instance, when Dr. Karan Singh in Dec 1978 said, "If state Govt. did not take Jammu situation with understanding and sympathy,

is a continuing one, the attitude and behaviour of the leaders are shaped and multiplicity of other factors, have significant role in understanding the process of recruitment of leaders and to ascertain the nature and character of emerging pattern of leadership in village panchayat.

The paper is an attempt to analyse the emerging pattern of rural leadership in India. One village was selected for the study. As it was not possible to study the state as a whole, the case study method was adopted. Moreover, this method could be helpful in making an indepth study. Village Shergarh was selected because this village represents the developmental tendencies of the State. It is situated at a distance of 2 K.M. away from Kaithal town in district Kurukshetra, one of the developed district of Haryana in agricultural production. The other consideration of selecting this village was researcher's acquaintance with the area. As no industry, no cultural centre, no educational centre were there in the village, the only leader available was the political leader. This study is confined only to the elected and coopted members of village panchayat since the introduction of panchayati raj. There were 34 members who had been elected and coopted members of panchayat. Out of 34 members only 27 were available for the interview, because 7 of them had expired.

A questionnaire was administered to the leaders. The responses were collected through interview regarding the leaders background and bases of power, which is being analysed in this paper.

Here, in this paper, I have tried to deal with their socio-economic & political background. I have dealt with the following variables of socio-economic and political background of the leaders:-

Sex, age, caste, family, education, occupation, income, land ownership, class, status, interest in community affairs, socio-cultural membership, joining politics, membership and preference of political party, participation in movements etc.

As far as sex is concerned, there were only four women leaders. All of the women had acquired leader position by cooption. The remaining 23 were men.

Age determines a large extent the behaviour and attitude of a person. The table reveals the age composition of the leaders:-

TABLE-I
THE AGE COMPOSITION OF LEADERS

Age	Respondents	Percentage
Upto 30 years	3	11.11 %
31 to 40 years	10	37.04 %
41 to 50 years	5	18.52 %
51 to 60 years	4	14.81 %
Above 60 years	5	18.52 %
Total	27	100.00 %

As table-I shows that persons belonging to young middle and upper middle age groups have two third representation in the leader group. The person belonging to young age group have also representation. This indicates that middle age commands respect.

Caste plays a vital role in village politics. This is evident from the co-relation between caste composition of the village¹ and its leader structure.

TABLE-II
REPRESENTATION OF VARIOUS CASTES IN LEADER STRUCTURE

Caste	Total Number	No. of leaders	Percentage
Jat	641 (76.58%)	20	74.09 %
Brahmin	23 (2.75%)	--	--
Khati (B.C.)	15 (1.79%)	1	3.70 %
Balmiki (S.C.)	98 (11.71%)	4	14.81 %
Chamar (S.C.)	60 (7.17%)	2	7.40%
Total	837 (100.00%)	27	100.00 %

The above Table indicates that the largest number of leaders 20 (74.09) percent belong to non-scheduled caste, 1(3.70) percent belong to backward class, whereas 6(22.22) percent belong to Scheduled Caste. One thing may be noted here that largest number of leaders were from the Jat caste due to its numerical strength. Balmiki had doubled number 4(14.81) percent leader in the Scheduled Caste group, while 2(7.40) percent Chamar became a panch. No Brahmin could get leader position due to lesser strength of the caste. It can be stated that due to their numerical strength only Jats could capture power in the panchayat. Scheduled caste people become panch not by election, but by cooption² only. One thing may be mentioned here that Khati could acquire leader position, in this election of 1988 due to the provision for reservation of seats for backward classes, in the Gram Panchayat Act.

Due to adult franchise, numerical strength of a caste become a factor for getting leader status in the village. People from majority caste constitute the main Core of rural leaders and dominate the power structure. It may also be pointed out that it is not only the numerical

strength of a caste - that is important. The amount of land held by it is also important. Jats who owns 914 acres³, dominate the power structure of the village. They are not only numerically strong but also they are economically strong.

As far as marital status is concerned, 22 of the respondents were married, 3 were widowers and 2 were widows. This clearly shows that all the leaders were involved in family responsibilities and unmarried persons could not get leader status. Both the widows were Jats and were coopted in village Panchayat due to their family background. One was the widow of a faction leader Mr. Phulla Ram Jat, Ex-Panch and Vice Ex Chairman of the Amargarh Cooperative Society Ltd., Amargarh who contested the election of Sarpanch twice but could not succeed in becoming the Sarpanch. One thing may be pointed out here that Mr. Suraj Bhan son of Mr. Phulla Ram Jat faction leader became Sarpanch in the election after a long spell of thirty years by a margin of 84 votes, who also holds the chairmanship of the Amargarh Cooperative Society Ltd., Amargarh in this election. The another one was the widow of Panch from the village when there was a common panchayat of Shergarh, Deodkheri and Amargarh and at the same time she owned the maximum land in the village. So their socio-economic status was responsible for their cooption in the panchayat.

It would be interesting to find out the nature of their families. This can reveal whether joint family is more useful or nuclear family for acquiring leader status.

TABLE-III
FORM OF LEADERS FAMILY

Form of Family	Respondents	Percentage
Joint Family	11	40.75 %
Nuclear Family	16	59.25 %
Total	27	100.00 %

The table indicates that most of the leaders 16 (59.25) percent were members of nuclear families. This shows joint family system in rural area is discontinuing. The family background has significant bearing for attaining leader status.

It is generally believed that persons belonging to educated families have greater chance of acquiring leader status. But this study does not support this view, which is clear from the following table:-

TABLE IV
FATHER'S EDUCATION OF LEADERS

Education	Respondents	Percentage
Illiterate	26	96.30 %
Literate	1	3.70 %
Total	27	100.00 %

Father of only one member of the panchayat was literate while others were illiterate. The fact supports whatever has been stated before this table.

The educational background of a person is also considered to be a significant variable. Educated people have more chance to attain leader position. But this is not supported also by this study. The table gives the amount of their responses :

TABLE V
EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION OF THE LEADERS

Education	Respondents	Percentage
No Schooling	19	70.38 %
Primary	4	14.81 %
Middle	3	11.11 %
Under graduate	1	3.70 %
Total	27	100.00%

As the table reveals only 8 (29.62) percent out of 27 leaders were formally educated, it clearly shows that bulk of those who were able to enter the rank of leaders had no education. Thus education is not an important variable in the power structure of this village. This may be explained by the fact that there were 110 literates³ in this village. According to 1981 census they comprise 15.45 percent of the total population of the village i.e. 712⁴. One thing may be noted in the recent election that all the five members are formally educated except coopted one.

The occupational background of parents of leaders is also considered important for acquiring leader status. The view point gets support from our findings.

TABLE VI
OCCUPATION OF FATHER'S OF LEADERS

Occupation	Respondents	Percentage
Agriculture	21	77.78 %
Labour	6	22.22 %
Total	27	100.00 %

Fathers of 21 respondents were agriculturists, while of the remaining 6 were labourers.

We donot find any difference between the occupation of parents and respondents. The table indicates the occupation of leaders as under :-

TABLE VII
PRESENT OCCUPATION OF LEADERS

Occupation	Respondents	Percentage
Agriculture	21	77.78%
Labour	6	22.22%
Total	27	100.00%

It is not only the occupational background that is an important factor, the occupation of a person is equally important. This is clearly visible from the table that the power structure is dominated by agriculturists 21(77.78) percent. The labourers have ~~retaine~~ relatively much less representation 6(22.22) percent. This is because agriculturists who own land have more economic power than labourers.

The level of income is regarded as an important factor in the attainment of leader status. The statements given by the respondents about their annual income were reliable upto a great extent.

TABLE VIII
LEADERS ANNUAL INCOME

Income Range	Respondents	Percentage
Upto Rs. 5,000/-	4	14.81 %
Rs. 5001 to 10,000/-	3	11.11 %
Rs. 10,001 to 15,000/-	8	29.62 %
Rs. 15,001 to 20,000/-	6	22.22 %
Above Rs. 20,000/-	6	22.22 %
Total	27	100.00 %

The table above shows that 4 (14.81) percent respondents told their income upto Rs.5,000/-. Three out of four were Balmikis, whereas one was Chamar. One each i.e. Balmiki, Chamar, Jat told their income between Rs.5001/- to Rs.10,000/-. 8 (29.62) percent leaders stated it to be between Rs.10,001/- to Rs.15,000/- and 6 (22.22) percent were in the income group of Rs.15,001/- to Rs.20,000/- and the income of remaining 6(22.22) percent was above Rs.20,000/-per annum. As the table indicates that about three fourth of leaders had an income of more than ten thousand rupees per annum. Whereas the representation of the lower income group is only one fourth.

The ownership of land is an important basis of power structure in rural society, where agriculture is the main occupation. The table gives us the information about land holdings of the respondents.

TABLE IX
LAND OF THE LEADERS

Land-holding	Respondents	Percentage
Landless	6	22.22 %
Upto 5 acres	6	22.22 %
Upto 10-15 acres	3	11.11 %
Above 16 acres	12	44.45 %
Total	27	100.00 %

As earlier stated in this paper, the total land of the village is 914 acres. 21 out of 27 leaders stated at the time of interviews that they owned maximum land i.e. 408 acres. All these leaders belong to the dominant caste i.e. Jat. Whereas, the remaining 6 leaders had no land and belong to Scheduled Caste. It means that the local politics was dominated by these families from where the leaders come. These can be termed as local

influential families. It is also clear that economically dominant group is also the political dominant group of the village. 6 landless leaders were the members of the panchayat because of the provision for the representation of the Scheduled Caste in Gram Panchayat Act. It means who is economically weak could not get politically dominant position. Their economic status is also reflected by their possession of Tractor, Radio, Tape Record, T.V., house and other luxurious items. Scheduled Caste leaders either work in the fields of landowners - the Jats or go to the town for labour.

It will be interesting to probe into the class status of the respondents as perceived by them. For this purpose, they were asked to name the class they should be placed in. The following table presents their responses:

TABLE X
LEADERS PERCEPTION OF THEIR CLASS STATUS

Status	Respondents	Percentage
Upper Class	6	22.22 %
Upper Middle Class	14	51.85 %
Lower Middle Class	--	--
Lower Class	7	25.93%
Total	27	100.00%

The data shows that a large number of leaders 14 (51.85) percent of them stated that they belong to upper middle class, 6(22.22) percent of them stated that they belonged to upper class and the remaining 7 (25.93) percent considered themselves belonging to the lower ~~middle~~ class. None of them considered themselves as a member of lower middle class. Whereas lower class had about one fourth share. The high pcertage of middle and upper class may be ascribed

to the fact that they have considerable economic resources. The lower class persons were able to acquire leader status due to the provision for reservation and cooption of Scheduled castes and Backward classes respectively in the panchayat. At the same time they belong to lower status of the society. Here caste and class merge together - dominant caste people are dominant class also.

When the respondents were asked about the status they felt their families were having in the village. The below table gives the account of their responses:

TABLE XI
STATUS OF LEADERS FAMILY

<u>Status</u>	<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Highly Respectable	6	22.22 %
Respectable	14	51.85 %
No Special Status	7	25.93 %
Total	27	100.00 %

The family status is considered a very important base for acquiring power in rural society. The data obtained gives us the information that 6 (22.22) percent respondents stated that their families were highly respected. While 14 (51.85) percent of them stated that they command respect. There were only 7 (25.93) percent respondents whose families had no special status in the village. On the basis of these responses, it can be said that persons belonging to highly respectable and respectable families have greater chance of acquiring leader status. Only the persons belonging to Backward and Scheduled castes stated that they had no special status in the village.

FAMILIES' INTEREST OF LEADERS IN THE COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

For getting leader status, it is important that the members of those who get leader status should active in community affairs. When the question was asked from the respondents about their families interest in the community affairs, 14 (51.85) percent of them said that their father's/husband took active interest in community affairs. All of the four women leaders husband were active in community affairs. One woman leader's husband was ~~Sarpanch of the~~ Sarpanch of the village and father Lambardar of ~~the~~ her parents village. The other woman leader's husband was a panch and Vice-Chairman of the Cooperative Society and now her son is Sarpanch of the village and Chairman of the Cooperative Society. The husband of third woman leader is Lambardar and now her son is Sarbara Lambardar (Officiating) of the village. Whereas father-in-law of fourth woman leader had occupied the office of Panch in the Gram Panchayat ever since the provision of cooption in the ~~Village~~ Gram Panchayat came into force. Fathers of the two respondents were Panch while of the one leader was Sarpanch of the village. If we analyse the power being enjoyed in the village, we find only one group was dominating the village power structure since the introduction of Panchayati raj and other group of the same caste or faction could get power only in these election held in August, 1988.

SOCIO-CULTURAL MEMBERSHIP

The membership of socio-cultural association is generally accepted as an important channel for the recruitment of leaders. However the study does not lend support to this view. It may be pointed out that none of the respondents had any type of association with any socio-cultural organisation either as a member or as an office-bearer.

It would be interesting to find out at what age the leaders entered the field of politics. The table below provides us the information:

TABLE XII
AGE OF ENTERING THE POLITICS

Age	Respondents	Percentage
20-30 Years	16	59.26 %
31-40 Years	5	18.52 %
41-50 Years	6	22.22 %
Total	27	100.00%

The above table clearly shows that majority of the leaders 16 (59.26) percent joined politics when they were young. 5 (18.52) percent joined when they had middle age group. But 6 (22.22) percent entered political ^{career} after crossing 40 years of age. On the basis of this data it can be concluded that the enthusiasm of young age attracts people in politics.

For understanding leader structure and their behaviour, it is necessary to find out who influenced them to join politics.

TABLE XIII
WHY LEADERS JOINED POLITICS

Reason	Respondents	Percentage
(a) Under the influence of some family members.	10	37.04 %
(b) Under the influence of some leaders:	--	--
(c) Under the influence of some movements.	--	--
(d) Caste or factionalism	17	62.96 %
Total	27	100.00%

Our data reveals that majority of the leaders 17 (62.96) percent joined politics under the influence of caste or factionalism. The remaining 10 (37.04) percent had been influenced by their family members. No other factor was stated to be responsible for their joining politics. This indicates that influence of family is also an important factor. Although, it is generally believed that most of the leaders are influenced by leaders or some movements. But none of the respondent was influenced by these factors.

PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTIONS OF STATE AND UNION LEGISLATURE:

When the question was asked regarding the role of leaders and extent of their participation in various elective bodies from Panchayat to Parliament, the membership of the village Panchayat is regarded as a stepping stone for higher offices. But this is not proved by this study. None of the respondents had contested election for the State legislature or Parliament. None of them ever contested the election to panchayat Samiti except cooperative society.

Membership of political parties is also accepted as an important source of power. It is mostly those who are members of political party. They are able to get leader status. The table provides us the information:

TABLE XIV
MEMBERSHIP OF POLITICAL PARTY

Lien with any political party	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	12	44.45 %
No	15	55.55 %
Total	27	100.00 %

The table clearly shows that out of 27 respondents 12 (44.45) percent were members of a political party. All of them were members of Lok Dal. The remaining 15 (55.55) percent had never been members of any political party. One thing is to be noted here that Scheduled Caste, Backward Caste and women leaders had no membership of any political party. The leaders who were the members of Lok Dal joined no party before. None of them had changed loyalty so far.

Since leaders at the local level play an important role in mobilising support for different political parties, an attempt was made to find out the party preference of local leaders of the village. The table gives us the information about the preference of the leaders: (Weightage scoring 1 to fourth preference; 2 to third preference, 3 to second preference and 4 to first preference).

TABLE XV
POLITICAL PARTY OF PREFERENCE

Party	Preferences				Scoring
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	
Congress(I)	2 (7.40)	10 (37.04)	10 (37.04)	7 (25.93)	65
Lok Dal	25 (92.60)	2 (7.40)	--	--	106
Janta Party	--	5 (18.52)	8 (29.62)	10 (37.04)	41
Cong(J)/BSP	--	1 (3.70)	--	1 (3.70)	4
Independents	--	9 (33.33)	9 (33.33)	9 (33.33)	54
Total	27	27	27	27	--

The data clearly shows that only 2 (7.40) percent leaders gave first preference to Congress(I). Both of them were Balmikis from Scheduled caste group. Whereas 25 (92.60) percent gave first preference to Lok Dal. So far as

weighted scores are concerned again Lok Dal is preferred by the leaders followed by Congress(I) and Janta Party. Congress(J)/BSP was placed at number two and number four by two respondents. All the other parties were rejected by the respondents. Preference for Lok Dal may be due to two reasons. Firstly, Lok Dal has launched a popular protest movements in Haryana and mobilized the people specially from rural areas. Secondly, Lok Dal in Haryana is identified as a party of agriculturists specially of 'Jats'. For most of our respondents were agriculturists and Jats they preferred Lok Dal.

When the respondents were asked about the role of leaders in various movements, both of pre-Independence and post Independence era, the participation in political movements is generally accepted as an important agent of political socialization and political recruitment. The table below gives us the information.

TABLE XVI
PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Whether participated in any Pol. movement.	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	17	62.96 %
No	10	37.04 %
Total	27	100.00 %

The table shows that 17 (62.96) percent respondents stated that they participated in political movements launched by Lok Dal. One leader took part in both the pre-Independence and post-independence movements. The remaining four women leaders, Scheduled caste members and Backward caste member have no such record at their credit.

It would be interesting to find out the perception of of leaders regarding the basis of exerting influence. This can be helpful in understanding their behaviour. When they were asked about the basis of influence, the following picture emerged.

TABLE XVII
BASIS FOR EXERTING INFLUENCE IN VILLAGE MATTERS

Bases	Preference			Scoring
	1st	2nd	3rd	
Land	--	--	6(22.22)	6
Education	2(7.40)	--	3(11.11)	9
Numerical Strength	12(44.45)	13(48.15)	3(11.11)	65
Political linkage	--	2(7.40)	2(7.40)	6
Belonging to Higher Caste	12(44.45)	12(44.45)	6(22.22)	66
Family status or good relations	1(3.70)	--	7(25.93)	10
Total	21	21	21	--

The data clearly indicates that the respondents interviewed by me considered higher caste background and numerical strength equally important in this context. They regarded land, education and political linkage and family status or good relations relatively much less important for this purpose. When asked further the respondents opined that higher caste have more influence in village matters or development. It is true in this village that higher caste of the village due to its numerical strength dominate the village matters as well as politics and have more influence in all the spheres at village level.

When the respondents were asked about their links with MLA/MP. All the respondents told that they had

links with local M.L.A. due to social contract or being active during election campaign and his visits to the village from time to time.

When the respondents were asked whether their relatives were active politically in state politics or holding any administrative post, all of them told in negative.

C O N C L U S I O N

On the basis of the above analysis, the study of emerging pattern of leadership in rural India in the context of village Shergarh leads us to the following conclusions:-

- The male dominate the power structure.
- Maturity in terms of age is one of the consideration for acquiring leader status.
- Caste is very important factor in the recruitment of leaders.
- It is the dominant caste which dominate the power structure.
- These are the married persons who had acquired leaders status.
- The membership of nuclear families have greater representation than members of joint families.
- Education of parents is not necessary for acquiring leaders status.
- Education has nothing to do for attaining leader position in this village. Majority of the leaders have no schooling at all.
- The occupational background of parents is a singificant factor. It is the agriculturist class which dominate the power structure.
- Persons from higher income group dominate the power st-structure.
- Those who own more than 10 acres of land are pre-dominant in the leader structure.
- Leaders are mostly from the upper and upper middle class.

- Most of them belong to respectable and highly respectable families.
- Those persons whose parents or other family members take active interest in community affairs have greater chances of getting leaders status.
- Membership of socio-cultural organisation/association is not an essential qualification for acquiring leader status.
- Those who enter politics at a younger age have more chances of recruitment than persons of middle and upper-age.
- Caste, factionalism and family influence are important motivating factor for entering politics.
- The leaders of the village have no desire for getting power for higher office, because they did not contest elections to higher bodies except cooperative societies.
- Membership of political parties is not an essential qualification for leaders.
- Party-preference is guided by caste consideration.
- Most of the leaders have had participated in the movements launched by Lok Dal.
- Numerical strength of the caste and high status of the family are considered important factor for acquiring power.
- All the leaders have links with local M.L.A. instead of state level leaders.

In the end, it can be said that the generalisations drawn on the basis of this paper cannot be applicable to the state as a whole. These are based on the study of very limited area. Besides, this village is located in the most developed district of this state. Lastly, in view of its peculiar socio-economic structure and geographical location, the emerging pattern of leadership in this village is most likely to differ from that of other villages in the state.

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REFERENCES

- * I am extremely grateful to my revered teacher Dr.P.D.Sharma, Reader, Deptt.of Political Science, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra for his valuable guidance in completing this paper.
- ** Ramesh Kumar, Research Student, Deptt.of Political Science, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.
1. This information was collected by the researcher through a door to door survey of the village.
 2. There is a provision for the representation of Scheduled Caste and women in the village Panchayat through cooption by elected members. See the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952 (as amended), Government of Haryana, Chandigarh, 1974.
 3. District Census Hand Book-Karnal District
Director of Census Operations, Haryana, Chandigarh, 1974 pp 40-41.
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THE TIMES OF INDIA

A Thought for Today

Excessive liberty leads both nations and individuals into excessive slavery.
—CICERO

Education Draft

The discussion paper outlining the new education policy that will be put before Parliament during the present session does not offer any radical departures from the 1968 blueprint, but is rather a continuation of it. The 10 + 2 + 3 formal structure stays in place, except that the ten years at school will be further broken up into 5/3/2. Content-wise, vocationalisation will be emphasised, with provision for introducing it after the eighth standard in addition to the normal availability at the plus-two stage. The aim is to have ten per cent of higher secondary students doing vocational courses by 1990 and 2-1/2 times as many taking them within the five years thereafter. The more important and difficult task is to give vocational learning the status and rewards it lacks. The academic stream continues to be in such demand because of the premium on its products in society at large and the employment market in particular. Since the rewards of vocational education are dependent on economic growth and diversification, upgrading its value is not an educational matter alone, or even mainly.

To universalise elementary education, an "Operation Blackboard" is to be launched. Since the enrolment shortfall is principally among girls, Harijans and tribals, it is appropriate to give these groups special assistance through a variety of incentives. The success of this operation will depend on the manner of its execution. The constitution of an Indian education service and of district education boards responsible for running all institutions, presumably non-formal programmes as well, upto higher secondary level is a crucial factor. If the service and the boards fall prey to bureaucratism, then any hope of energising school education, especially in the villages, will be frustrated. The new structures might even prove to be a further drag on innovation and improvement. It is unfortunate that the government continues to see non-formal education (N-FE) as essentially an appendage to the formal set-up. So long as it is thus perceived, it will go on being an inferior option. It has to become the second of a genuine two-track system, with parity of status, facilities and funds for both tracks. This must be so for school as much as for higher education where open universities and other distance learning modes become as important as affiliated, full-time colleges. In the discussion on the draft until the official policy is finalised, educationists have an obligation to bring home to the government that the formal system, while its own, numerous lapses must be remedied, cannot but be inadequate for providing mass education of even minimal quality, and that an elaborate non-formal structure must be urgently established, officially supported to the hilt and generously funded.

10+2+3 or what?

THANKS to widespread protest by State governments and universities alike and the consequent intervention of the Union Education Ministry, tens of thousands of graduates all over the country have been saved from a UGC directive that would have debarred them from pursuing post-graduate studies. The Commission is reported to have withdrawn its recent guidelines which, among other things, made it mandatory for students to complete a three-year degree course to qualify for admission to M.A. courses. Since many universities have a two-year degree course — after 11 or 10 years of schooling and one or two years of intermediate education — the UGC directive provided, as a transitory measure, that their graduates undergo a one-year “bridge” course to be eligible for post-graduate studies.

It is difficult to see what precisely prompted the Commission to issue such a directive. Nobody seriously questions the desirability and benefits of nationwide uniformity in the duration of schooling and subsequent degree course. The fact remains, however, that several states have not adopted the 10+2 scheme which was introduced more than a decade ago and continue with other, earlier patterns of school education. If the Commission wants to rectify this, surely the way to go about it is not to issue a sudden, mandatory fiat without examining the practical problems involved in setting up, virtually overnight, a brand new one-year bridge course which would involve a host of additional facilities. Moreover, some universities had finalised their MA admissions before they received the UGC bombshell, causing tremendous confusion and uncertainty.

The UGC reportedly has now constituted a committee to re-examine the matter. The three-year degree course conditionality was part of a package of other directives which seemed either to anticipate or pre-empt whatever reforms the impending New Education Policy may have in store for university education.

If, on the other hand, the Commission does intend to insist on the three-year-degree course, then it should avoid creating problems for students and universities. The working of the 10+2 scheme has been far from satisfactory if one considers the failure of its vocational component. But assuming that things will improve and that this is the best possible pattern, then the Commission should give proper opportunity to all States to switch over to it. Which means a deadline of, say, 1990 or thereabouts. This would be both fair and practicable.

Change In Education Towards A Two-Track System

By A. S. ABRAHAM

MR RAJIV GANDHI'S government has made the reform of education one of its main tasks. The first significant outcome of this concern was the August 1985 document, "Challenge of Education — Policy Perspective", whose first chapter puts the case for going beyond "minor modifications of the present framework". "The country", it says, "Now stands on the threshold of the 21st century. Those who are being born now will finish their elementary schooling at the turn of the century and enter into a world which will, it is already clear, offer opportunities unprecedented in the history of mankind... apart from the imperatives arising out of a continuing revolution in the world of technology, India is faced with challenges at home... education is the most effective instrument to meet these challenges".

The document's final paragraph lays down the broad components of the "New Education Policy": "Laying down a long-term strategy... in which the requirements of universalisation of elementary education; production of sophisticated manpower in adequate numbers to deal creatively with new technologies; diversified vocationalisation; and the creation of an overall environment for change and development through adult and continuing education, would be integrated with measures to improve the quality and outputs of all other educational sections".

The official and informal countrywide debate that followed publication of the document has led to the presentation in Parliament last Monday of a discussion paper containing more specific proposals on how this strategy is to be pursued. Both the paper and "Challenge Of Education" give some idea of what the final policy, to be put before Parliament during the current session, is likely to comprise, and the first thing that must be said is that to call it new would be a misnomer. What it seeks to accomplish and the ways in which it proposes to do so are not original, conceptually or in practical terms. This is not a criticism but a word of caution, for to speak of something as new suggests that it marks a sharp break with what has gone before and raises unrealistic expectations of rapid amelioration in an extremely complex area.

Main Problems

The main problems, as described in "Challenge Of Education", are what they have long been: 1) Massive illiteracy. "According to World Bank estimates, India would have the largest concentration of illiterate(s) in the world by 2,000; (it) will have 54.8 per cent of the world's illiterate population in the age-group 15-19".

(2) The failure to universalise elementary education, with especially poor enrolment and particularly high drop-out-rates among girls, Harijans and tribals.

(3) Inadequate expenditure on education (just over three per cent of GNP), although the 1964-66 education commission had recommended at least twice as much.

(4) Distortions in expenditure. Of even the low allocation for education, only 15.7 per cent was spent on new schemes in 1982-83, with almost 85 per cent on maintenance

of existing schemes. The country, at the +2 stage, has remained marginal and confined to a few states". Again: "By 1976-77, the programme had taken some shape only in three states. However, by 1983-84, it had spread to 11 states and union territories (i.e. less than half the country). More than half of the 1,600 vocational institutions in the country were in Tamil Nadu". So much for the spread of vocationalisation.

(6) Unemployment among the educated. "The number of registered job-seekers increased by nearly ten times during 1961-81, yielding a growth rate of 12 per cent per annum. Within the category, the proportion of educated among the unemployed has increased even more. They constituted about one-third of the job-seekers in 1961, while their magnitude shot up to one-half of the total unemployed by 1981. In other words, the rate of growth of unemployment among the educated was more than the general rate of unemployment".

(7) The rapid increase in absolute numbers in formal higher education enrolment was accompanied by a precipitous decline in quality. "The facilities in the 5,000-odd colleges vary widely and are, on the whole, far below the level of qualitative viability. Neither colleges nor even universities are started after due consideration of academic need. For long years, these go on absorbing scarce resources without attaining even the minimum standards laid down by the UGC... the internal inefficiency of the higher education system is evidenced not only by the poor quality of courses but also by the large number of dropouts and failures which together account for more than 59 per cent of the students enrolled..." All this with only 4.8 per cent of the relevant age-group in higher education. What would the pressure be were coverage to be extended?

Emergency Schemes

Since the 1968 education policy, the fruit of years of expert probing endeavour culminating in the magisterial Education Commission report, the remedies for these malaises have included emergency schemes to universalise elementary education and end adult illiteracy, greater, and more equitably defrayed, expenditure on education — a stronger bias towards vocationalisation to reduce unemployment among the educated, and more selectivity in formal higher education to raise standards.

Some major changes have taken place in the last two decades. The restructuring of the formal set-up into 10 + 2 + 3, as recommended by the education commission, was, among other things, an attempt to strengthen vocationalisation by integrating it into secondary education through the provision of a separate stream as well as through the introduction of work experience.

In elementary education, there has been the "new initiative" of non-formal education (N-FE). "This programme", says "Challenge Of Education", "started only towards the end of the sixth five-year plan in the nine educationally backward states. It incorporates a much greater measure of flexibility in terms of teacher-pupil ratios, qualifications of teachers, timing of

universalisation of elementary education by 1990. It is expected that of the additional 64 million children coming up for elementary education, nearly 39 million will be educated entirely, through this system. To date, no systematic study of the effectiveness of N-FE is available. It is being argued by some educational planners that this may not be a viable alternative to school education. These arguments have to be balanced against the necessity of using some mechanism to reach children outside the formal system".

In higher education, too, non-formal channels of access like an open university, extension courses and distance learning schemes have begun to be provided, but as yet on a very limited scale. The object is to ease pressure on the formal set-up so that standards there can be tightened, but without closing the doors of opportunity.

Universal Education

The present discussion paper, seen in the context of the educational strategy pursued for some two decades, moves along the same lines. Its main proposals seek to combat illiteracy in the 15-35 age-group, universalise elementary education, concentrate on women, Harijans and tribals in raising enrolment and retention rates, mainly through the N-FE programme, emphasise vocationalisation by making it available even after the eighth standard (as against only at the plus-two stage), reduce unemployment through skill training geared to the opening-up of job opportunities in related fields and, in formal higher education, to consolidate rather than expand in order to raise standards. Disaffiliating colleges from universities so as to allow them scope for autonomous self-improvement, delinking jobs from degrees, and stricter admission policies are among the measures designed to "protect the system from degradation".

Within this framework of amelioration, however, the government would have to show a clear preference for expanding and strengthening N-FE at both school and college levels. To educational decision-makers and the educational establishment as a whole, N-FE is incidental to the formal set-up whose numerous limitations they want the government to worry most, if not exclusively, about. But is precisely such myopia that has ensured our failure to come anywhere near eradicating illiteracy and universalising elementary education when many other third-world countries have accomplished much more with scarcer resources.

It has long been established that the social returns from state expenditure on attaining universal literacy and education are much greater than the benefits to the individual, while the opposite is the case as one goes up the educational pyramid. Formal school and college education remains a minority enterprise, albeit with a growing mass element; the majority of Indians are simply untouched by it. It is an apex without a base, suspended in mid-air. But its beneficiaries are vocal, assertive and politically influential, so the fundamental inequity of the system has been self-influential, so that fundamental inequity of the system has been self-perpetuating. Only extraordinary political will can

(5) The slow progress with vocationalisation, itself taken seriously only with the adoption of the 10 + 2 pattern of schooling. "Vocational enrolment... which was expected to include around 50 per cent of students, it was felt, could not come to regular schools because of other pressures... now, ... N-FE is being assigned a very large responsibility in relation to the achievement of true challenge of education. through the deliberate and unstinted funding of an alternative, non-formal track that reaches down to the majority *on the latter's terms*, begin to correct this inequity. That is the true challenge of education.

Why Vocationalise Schools

Supposed Advantages Non-existent

By S. S. ANKLESARIA AIYAR

THE need to vocationalise school education in India has been stressed so often by so many people that the layman might think its merit was established beyond all doubt. Almost all developing nations and international financial agencies feel the same way. The World Bank, for instance, has supported over fifty educational projects with vocational components. However, there has been little research to test whether such projects really have the advantages claimed for them. A recent book by two World Bank researchers, "Diversified Secondary Education and Development" by George Psacharopoulos and William Loxley (Johns Hopkins University Press), suggests that many of the supposed advantages are non-existent. The book distils the results of a research project covering 4,000 students in Colombia and Tanzania, both of which have a well-established network of vocationalised schools. Many of the negative conclusions of the study merit the attention of those concerned with India's system.

Standard academic curricula have long been criticised as unsuitable for poor regions, which are also thought to have insufficient institutions to teach relevant skills to children. Hence it has been proposed that school curricula should be diversified to include training for various vocations. (This is sometimes called pre-vocational schooling, sometimes vocationalised schooling). Such a curriculum is supposed to make education more meaningful matching skills taught with those needed by a nation. It is supposed to reduce the craze for university education and white collar jobs, and prepare students for entering the workforce directly after school as craftsmen, mechanics, apprentices and so on. It is supposed to attract more students (and reduce the drop-out rate) from the poorest families by making schools more relevant for increasing the ultimate earning capacity of students.

However, the study on Colombia and Tanzania revealed that the inclusion of vocational training in curricula did not reduce the demand for higher education, did not raise the proportion of school-leavers directly entering the workforce, did not make it easier for students to find jobs (or even reduce the time taken to find a job), and did not improve the earning capacity of students. It needs to be asked whether things are different in India.

much per student as standard ones. These high costs were not compensated for by higher returns. The social rate of return on investment in Colombia was no higher for vocational than for standard schools (8 to 9 per cent). In Tanzania, the social rate of return ranged from only 1.7 per cent to 5.4 per cent for different types of vocational schools — less than the 6.3 per cent yielded by standard academic schools.

The methodology used by the study was to take a random sample of students in both types of schools, and check what they were doing one year after leaving school. This is possibly not a long enough period to come to categorical conclusions, and the researchers will look at the same students later to see if the initial trends have changed. However, a look at an earlier class of Colombian students showed that, three years after leaving school, there were no significant differences between students of vocational and standard schools, suggesting that the much higher investment on the former had not yielded the expected fruit. Are conditions in India very different? At the very least, similar research of a rigorous nature must be conducted before investing large sums in vocationalising the Indian school system.

Limited Budget

Schools with a diversified curriculum do not necessarily promote equity even if they succeed in attracting more students from the poorest classes. Every country has a limited education budget, and in general equity will be better served by expanding the school network and giving more people access to education than by focussing funds on vocational schools, which cost more to set up and run. It also needs to be stressed that diversified curricula are difficult to implement. They need a lot of hardware-machinery, tools, work tables, laboratories and raw materials. Does it make sense to introduce these in Indian conditions where 40 per cent of schools do not have a pucca building, 35 per cent have only one teacher, 60 per cent have no drinking water and 40 per cent have no blackboard?

Apart from hardware, vocational education needs a host of software to be effective. New instructional materials, books and systems will have to be developed. There will have to be a massive re-training of teachers, and only high-quality teachers will have the flexibility to adapt to new

amount of vocational education may be most appropriate in developed urban areas with a growing demand for specific skills.

Little Relevance

The Gandhians who advocate vocational training in schools feel that academic learning is of little relevance to village life and that village schools must be recast to produce people with skills that can be used in rural industry, services and agriculture. It is certainly true that school curricula need reorientation to harmonise with the cultural, regional and rural ethos of villages. But that is very different from altering the school structure to produce weavers and mechanics. The notion of matching skills imparted in schools with those needed by society rests on the assumption that there is a mismatch today. This is true to only a very limited extent. There is no shortage of handloom weavers, potters, basket weavers or producers of handicrafts. Indeed, in many places there is an excess of them. It needs to be realised that schooling constitutes only part of a child's education, much of which is imparted at home. It is in homes that Indian children pick up skills like handloom weaving and handicraft production. In cities, children also pick up skills when employed at low or zero wages in workshops, match factories, carpet factories or dhabas (small restaurants). There is an enormous network of non-formal training that, by and large, is already matching the supply of and demand for skills. There is little need to create a wide network of vocational schools if non-formal training is already so widely available. Of course, it is desirable that children should be in schools rather than sweating in factories. But merely starting vocational schools will not bring about such a change as long as incomes are so low that parents cannot afford to forgo the earnings of their children.

Some skills are in short supply up to a point (such as carpenters in some cities and mechanics in some rural areas). But the answer would seem to be to set up a limited number of specialised institutions for training rather than try and vocationalise the schools system. The latter strategy would produce a vast excess of unwanted skills. TRYSEM (Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment) is a modest scheme attempting to impart relevant skills,

Not Negative

Not all the conclusions of the study were negative. In Colombia (though not in Tanzania) schools with a diversified curriculum attracted relatively more students from the poorest classes. Colombian students in diversified schools scored significantly higher than those in standard schools, not only in vocational but even in academic subjects. Hence there was a clear gain of cognitive skills in Colombia (the picture was more mixed in Tanzania, where vocational students outscored academic ones in vocational subjects but not in academic ones). However, these gains were obtained at a substantial cost. Recurring government expenditure on diversified schools was 34 per cent higher in Colombia, and 9 to 19 per cent higher in different Tanzanian vocational schools. Apart from recurring costs, there were large investments required in diversified schools in the form of equipment, laboratories and teacher-training. In some cases, diversified schools could not

teaching styles and materials. What fraction of Indian teachers are of high quality? Where are the facilities for retraining teachers and restructuring curricula? Where are the logistics to ensure a steady supply of materials to all schools when teachers experience difficulties in getting even their salaries? Vocational schools will work well only where the educational infrastructure is well developed, funds are adequate, and logistics are satisfactory. If not, much of the attempted vocationalisation will remain on paper (as seems to be the case in Tanzania).

Poor countries have long been told to make their school systems more relevant, and vocational schools have been touted as far more relevant for backward areas. The findings of the study suggest the very opposite — that poor countries with an inadequate infrastructure should avoid diversification of curricula. Far from being appropriate vocational schools appear to be expensive and inappropriate. This implies that they will also be inappropriate for backward areas in India. Indeed, a limited

yet many TRYSEM trainees remain unemployed. In cities, Industrial Training Institutes have been set up to impart more advanced technical skills to school leavers, but most industrialists complain that the skills acquired by such trainees are just not good enough, and that they need complete training just like raw recruits from school into factories. Unless vocational schools are of high quality, they could end up producing students who are good at using neither their hands nor their heads.

India's new education policy statement notes that the existing system has grave shortcomings. The system produces far too many university graduates, not just at the B.A. level but even the technical one (India turns out ten times as many engineers per unit of industrial output as Britain). The drop-out rate in schools is very high, teaching is of poor quality, text-books cry out for revision and there is an unwarranted urban bias. The limited funds available would be better spent on rectifying some of these shortcomings than on vocationalising school curricula.

Project report on open varsity submitted

NEW DELHI, September 25 (PTI): The project report of the proposed Indira Gandhi National Open University, prepared by the Educational Consultants India Ltd, a public, sector enterprise, was presented to the education minister, Mr K. C. Pant, this morning.

Accepting the report from Mr N. C. Mathur, managing director of Ed. Cil, Mr Pant said the open university was one of the new projects which would change the concept of education.

This was the last function attended by Mr Pant as education minister.

The ministry of education had entrusted to Ed. CIL the task of drafting the bill on open university as also the detailed project report.

The ED. CIL in its project report says the university would aim at widening the access to higher education.

This has become possible today, the report says, because of the advances made in communication technology.

It estimates that the open university would need Rs. 41 crores during the Plan period to perform the gigantic task

No commercialisation of education: Rao

NEW DELHI, October 27 (UNI):

THE Centre is strongly opposed to any commercialisation of education.

"We do not approve of selling education to the highest bidder" the minister for human resource development, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, said in an interview to UNI.

He was replying to a question on the action of some of the state governments in encouraging the setting up of private medical and engineering institutions and collecting capitation fee.

"But equally the insistence on freezing technical education completely because of lack of funds at government's disposal will just not work".

"We are seized of the matter with a sense of utmost urgency and seriousness", he said.

Mr. Rao said education being a concurrent subject there was no hindrance to the Centre in bringing about educational reforms.

As for bringing about uniformity in the educational system, Mr Rao said unity was not uniformity. "I am not sure total uniformity is possible or desirable in education. Areas of uniformity are being selected. They will be adhered to."

NEW POLICY: On the new educational policy, he said only the perspective for a new policy had been published. "What could be introduced next year and what would follow thereafter would naturally depend on the content of the policy itself", Mr Rao said.

He said the perspective had been

published for the specific purpose of initiating public debate. The policy would come thereafter. Had a final policy been announced, the debate would only consist of bouquets on the one hand and brickbats on the other. "We are expecting original ideas now." "However not much of original ideas had come from the public. This is quite discouraging."

Replying to another question, Mr Rao said the educational system should build the brand and it was for the society to stop its drain and utilise it here.

"The roles of the educator and employer are distinct. Teachers are not supposed to guard drains" he said.

Asked if he thought politics should be kept out of the university campuses, Mr Rao said "in this matter nobody's thinking counts including mine. It is a debate which seem to have become stale even in high schools".

About reservation of jobs for women, Mr Rao said there was no such proposal before the government at present.

When his attention was drawn to the recent Andhra Pradesh government announcement of 30 per cent job reservation for women, he said "I would prefer to consider proposals independently and for the whole country."

Mr Rao said he was not aware of any concrete decision regarding setting up of more women's universities on the pattern of S.N.D.T. "But this could be considered favourably", he said.

WESTERN MUSIC, DANCE: Mr Rao said he saw no danger to Indian culture from western music and dance.

Western pop music was appearing on the scene, so were western-born "bhavavatars" in Carnatic music, besides western Bharatnatyam and Kathak danseuses.

Asked if the government would think of some scheme to encourage translation of rich Indian literature into international languages, he said this was already being done.

Asked how the Prime Minister's idea of taking education to tribal areas was going to be implemented, Mr Rao said "our tribals are exquisite workmen. The vocational education they would receive must obviously harmonise with their ethos and high capacities and skills."

Row over education document

Express News Service

CHANDIGARH, Oct 21.

Opinion was sharply divided among over 50 educationists and social scientists who dissected the document prepared by the Union Government, "Challenge of Education, a policy perspective," at a two-day conference concluded here on Sunday at the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID). While many found the document to be the first serious effort on the part of the Government to reform the educational systems, others found it unrealistic. A forceful argument that there must be one type of schools for the children of the all classes of citizens.

It was felt that the document has not made specified, concrete suggestions. It had talked of limited resources and had ignored the education and care at the primary level was pre-requisite to make any educational system a success.

Mr P. N. Haksar, the chairman of the governing body of the CRRID closing up the conference, said that making available of universal compulsory primary education should be a priority rather than setting up of district model schools. He regreted that the docu-

ment had not specified a date by which every child of 6 years would get primary education. A profound disquiet in the country was simmering since the mid-50s and there was a wide credibility gap between the government and the people, remarked Mr Haksar.

Mr Haksar desired that the Government must not talk of lack of resources for educating the people, as if only wastage, corruption and lethargy is removed there would be enough resources.

It was desired that a common-core curricula, a sizeable part of which shall be built around the local environment and culture was necessary. The educational system should be decentralised.

A clear-cut policy should be enunciated regarding the indigenous educational institutions, like maqtabas, mad-rassas, gurukulas and government-aided institutions run by religious organisations.

The prospective education policy should not be announced in advance and should form a part of total planning and policy declarations, observed the participants. The focus of the policy should be on realisation of goals rather than on achieving targets.

The teaching-learning environment

should evolve a form which has a social proximity to the pupils both in terms of its idiom and medium. Mother languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic should not be used to patronise Hindu or Muslim fanaticism but should be used to refine our linguistics. The local dialects and regional languages should be developed more thoroughly.

It was recommended that the primary school teachers should receive maximum attention and must be involved in formulating curriculum.

The education should be depoliticised and educational-organisational structure should ensure active participation of teachers and students.

Illiteracy was increasing due to lack of political will to remove it. A passionate involvement of teachers, housewives and retired people should be summoned to impart education, it was observed.

Prominent among those who participated in the two-day conference included Prof Moonis Raza, Prof Rais Ahmed, Mr Anand Swarup, Union Education Secretary, journalist, Prof V. K. Tewari, Dr Amrik Singh, Prof Tarsem Bahia, Mr Balwant Singh Khara, Dr Pramod Kumar and Prof Y. K. Alag.

New education charter insufficient

Express News Service

[CHANDIGARH, Oct 20.

A two-day conference attended by educationists, social scientists and administrators was opened on Saturday by Mr P. N. Haksar former deputy chairman, Planning Commission, at the centre for research in rural and industrial development here. The participants from different universities in the country would dissect the document prepared by the Union Government. "Challenge of Education—a policy perspective." The conference would discuss the maladies eclipsing the educational system in the country and would try to suggest remedies.

Mr Haksar observed that the document was subversive as it was pathological report on serious ills of the educational system and it said that there were limited resources to achieve literacy in the country. He said that the document should have been more practical.

Dr R P Bambah, vice-chancellor Punjab University, in a key note address observed that the document had identified goals but had not specified the ways to achieve these. He said that some of the pre-requisites for achieving the goals were availability of sufficient funds, appropriate management, removal of inertia and a reformation in the examination system. The media could be used for launching new educational programmes.

Mr Amar Singh, teacher of Kottla Shamsherpur in his paper "An appraisal of the teacher's role in school education" said that government and the society expected from a teacher two different jobs. The government wanted improvement of literacy percentage and on the other hand the society expected

preparation of the student for jobs.

Fear of low results suppressed not only the teachers' initiative and freedom but also blocked student's power of reasoning and imagination, Mr Singh said. The socially irrelevant curriculum, fear of results and overwork of teaching, the crowded class rooms had turned the creative art of a teaching into a mechanical and lethargic job.

He demanded the public schools should be closed down, English as medium of instruction should be banned, and teacher-pupil ratio must be reduced to 1:25. In service training to teachers should be imparted.

Mr Man Mohan Singh, secretary, education and culture, hailed the document as a major policy pronouncement since 1968.

Mr Dinesh Mohan in his paper, "New

Education Policy: Promises, Promises, Promises," said the document was divided into four chapters, firstly, education, society and development; secondly, an overview of educational development; thirdly, a critical appraisal and forthly an approach to educational reorientation.

The first session was presided over by Dr S. S. Bal, Vice-chancellor, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

Dr Amrik Singh presided over the afternoon session and papers were submitted by Professor Dharmendra Goel, Dr Pranab N Desai, Dr Kulwant Kaur and Dr Amrit Kaur.

In the evening session, Professor Rajwant Singh and Miss Navsharan G Singh read out their papers. Over a dozen scholars spoke on the papers.

Adopting A Common Script

By MADHUKAR N. GOGATE

ONE cannot prophesy future happenings. Nevertheless, wisdom lies in forecasting future problems and devising remedies for them. A dark future awaits India, unless we accept a common Roman script. Our present population of 70 crores would expand to 120 crores in another 30 years. Already we are facing shortages of all kinds, and after 30 years even paper would be a scarce commodity, with depleted forests. The vast population can be then educated and informed by means of electronic screens manipulated with Roman script keyboards.

India has entered the computer age. A trickle of electronic machines with Roman script keyboard is already evident, and within the next 10 years, it would take the shape of big flood, Indian languages, using different scripts, would be washed away in this huge flood, unless they adopt the Roman script. That would not be good for the country. It is true that we need English, but the country cannot be developed unless people participate in development at all levels. Take the green revolution, for instance. The scientific part may be discussed in English in the agricultural universities. But the farmer in the field, who implements the green revolution, does not know English. Literature in our languages awakens us to our social problems. It is necessary, therefore, to develop and elevate our languages. English is understood by only three per cent of Indians, and it would be impractical to teach that language to all Indians.

The Parameter

The importance of Indian languages has been recognized, hence linguistic states were created. But an important parameter has been overlooked. Canada, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Yugoslavia are multilingual countries but they employ common scripts. India is not only multilingual, it is also multisciptural. This creates problems of integration. If one writes a letter to Germany, one may get a reply in German, and one can decipher the reply. Even without proper knowledge of that language, by using a German-English dictionary. But if one writes a letter in Hindi to the Karnataka government, one may receive a reply in the Kannada script. There are no Kannada-Hindi dictionaries, due to this script problems. As a result, at the subconscious level, one can feel a dislike towards the unknown language, be it in Devanagari or non-Devanagari script. As the linguistic states march further in the use of their own languages for administration and education, the country would get balkanised at the psychological level. Eventually, this may lead to disintegration of the country.

One is not against use of regional languages. They cannot be wished away, but the point is that we must develop some links of unity, and a

this is a good admission that the scripts can be changed, but they do not like the same advice in respect of the Devanagari script itself. It is true that the Devanagari script is reasonably phonetic and it is indigenous. But, unfortunately, it is a multitier script, unlike the Roman script which is linear. As a result, Devanagari script is difficult for printing, typing and word-indexing. Devanagari telephone directories have proved a failure. Complex Devanagari symbols can be accommodated in big printing presses but not in compact office equipment like typewriters, teleprinters, word processors and computers.

Japanese Script

Advocates of Devanagari argue that the Japanese script, in spite of its complexity, has been well accommodated in electronic equipment and they foresee no difficulties for Devanagari too, in this respect. Here we overlook the fact that Japan is a unilingual country, well advanced in technology, and with a high per capita income. We in India must solve our problems looking to our needs and resources. Whether we like it or not, we are using English for higher education and higher levels of business. Industries are the main consumers of equipment like typewriters, and they need machines only for English. Our economy does not permit the luxury of making machines for each and every script. In spite of their high patriotism, and insistence on their own script, the Japanese have accepted western dress, which shows that they are not averse to foreign inputs. We should not therefore reject the Roman script on that count. We have been using science, violin, potatoes, all of foreign origin, to suit our needs and the West too uses yoga, ayurveda, sitar music, etc. of Indian origin.

It is true that the Roman script is not phonetically accurate. But certainly it can be improved to meet our needs. First of all it is well to remember that the English language has mishandled the Roman script. For instance, the words "chemical" and "through" could be respelled as "kem'kal" and "thru". It is no fault of the Roman script, that these words are presently spelled irrationally. Still, the fact remains that the Roman script has inadequate symbols. But it is quite possible to make suitable combinations to express our languages.

For instance, we may use vowels as follows: a (as first a in America) aa (as last a in America) ae (as a in apple) au (as au in author) e (as e in egg) ee (as ee in meet) i (as i in i) o (as on in open) oo (as oo in cool) u (as u in put). Consonants may be more or less as in English, but some differences would be d (as th in they) d' (as d in dog) t (dental, not required in English) t' (as t in toy) thus t, d, n, l

Small arivals from rural areas and sugarcane and paddy. benefited the standing crops mainly



Protest at neglect of education in south

Express News Service

HYDERABAD, Oct 29.

Education ministers of the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and the Union Territory of Pondicherry are preparing to lodge a strong protest with the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, about the raw deal they are getting in the matter of funds and facilities for expanding education in their respective states.

The AP Minister for Education, Mr G Muddukrishnama Naidu, held wide-ranging discussions with his counterpart in Karnataka, Mr Raghupathi, here on Sunday on several problems arising from the inadequate flow of funds from the Centre as also the disproportionately high amounts released as grants by the UGC to universities in the north, ignoring the legitimate needs of universities in the south.

A meeting of education ministers of southern states is proposed to be held at Bangalore during the first week of December to list the demands, which will be forwarded when the Union Government convenes a meet of state education ministers before the year-end.

Mr Mudduk Krishnama Naidu told newsmen on Monday that Mr Raghupathi and he had agreed on certain specific educational demands which are proposed to be placed before the Union Government.

Education ministers of southern states would also call on the Prime

Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to put forward their pleas, he added.

According to Mr Muddukrishnama Naidu, the northern universities, particularly central universities are cornering 90 per cent of UGC grants, leaving hardly 10 per cent to be shared between universities in southern states. The location of the UGC offices in Delhi was causing great inconvenience to the state education ministries as also university administrators.

This could be remedied only by establishing a branch of the UGC in the south, preferably in Hyderabad, so that time and expense could be saved in getting UGC clearance for various projects.

The AP minister said that the Karnataka minister, Mr Raghupathi, had also endorsed the idea of establishing a branch office of the UGC in the city.

Mr Naidu deplored the less than 2 per cent sectoral allocation for education in the central budget, whereas it was more than 30 per cent in the AP budget and over 20 per cent in the budgets of other southern states, notwithstanding the fact that education was on the concurrent list. The Central Government ought to allot more funds for education to support the efforts of state governments.

The AP and Karnataka education ministers reviewed the school building construction programmes in the south and felt that almost all the states were experiencing great hardship in meeting the demand for buildings.

They suggested that a "school grants commission" be established to help different states undertake construction of school buildings in a big way.

Mr Naidu said that they had discussed the controversies arising in different states such as Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and more recently Tamil Nadu over the appointment of vice-chancellors of universities and felt that the matter had to be thoroughly discussed at the all-India level in order to arrive at a national consensus.

Other issues which figured in the discussions between the two education ministers are revision of UGC norms of recognition for educational institutions so that it is based on the population in different areas, sincere implementation of the three-language formula by northern states, substitution of the medium of instruction in proposed residential model schools with either the Regional language or English for Hindu and cent per cent grant to states for maintaining NSS and NCC activities in educational institutions in states instead of 60:40 and 50:50 sharing of expenditure by state and Central governments.

Sunday - September 16, 1984.

Universalization of elementary education

By G.M. Shah

(Chief Minister, Jammu & Kashmir)

The people of Jammu and Kashmir are committed to the creation of a secular, democratic, socialist society. The new society needs the total efforts of the people and the Government to bring about a change in the minds of people, the most potent catalyst which can catalyse social change. This makes it very important that we have an educational system which facilitates the creation of a new social order. Every individual has the potential contribution to make in his own way. This is obligatory on the part of the Government to create equality of education for every individual. Equality of education for every individual implies a general education up to a certain level to be made compulsory on the basis of making all necessary facilities available for this within the shortest possible time. The task is simple as it requires political will, strength and commitment on the part of the people.

education

State of Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in the world which has adopted the policy of free education from the primary level to the post graduate level. The main objective of this step was to reduce the spread of illiteracy and economic backwardness of the people of the state. The policy of the Government as such has been to provide educational facilities to all parts of the State. These efforts have resulted in the number of schools has increased from 8481 in 1975-76 to 10,151 in 1983-84. The number of students in all types of educational institutions during this period has increased from 10.15 lacs. The number of teachers during this period has gone up

from 32326 to 42271. The percentage of literacy in the State has gone up from 18.65 in 1971 to 26.17 in 1981. This shows that there has been forty percent increase in the literacy rate in the State during the previous one decade. The budget expenditure on education has increased from rupees 1910.60 lacs in 1975-76 to 5526.06 lacs in 1983-84. This way the per capita cost of education increased from Rs. 47 in 1975-76 to Rs. 90 in 1983-84. These figures show that a considerable progress has been made in providing educational facilities for removal of illiteracy in the State. Many more efforts are to be put in for complete removal of illiteracy in the State which will ultimately result in socio-economic transformation of the State.

In pursuance of national objectives the State Government has also identified elementary and adult education as priority sectors. The State Government wants to achieve the goal of universalization of education in the age group 1-14 by the year 1990 in accordance with the national policy. It is hoped that necessary inputs will also be provided during the 7th five year plan to make the dream of universalization of elementary education for the age group 6-14 realistic. Though the task is a gigantic one but the State Government is determined to realise this goal by providing all necessary inputs during the next plan period.

Single teacher schools

No doubt there are problems of single teacher schools, buildings and financial resources but within the existing facilities available we have to make the 20-Point Programme a success and for this the role of parents and community at large is of utmost importance. It has been seen that in spite of schooling facilities available within the easy walking distance of one kilometre, parents are not sending their children to schools as a result of which implementation of programme of universalization of elementary education has been hampered.

As per the fourth All India Educational Survey conducted in 1978-79, 90 per cent of the rural population in the State had primary stage schooling facilities within easy walking distance of one kilometre and eighty four percent of the population had middle stage schooling facilities available within the walking distance of three kilometres. During the current year it has been decided to open 100 more primary schools and fifty primary schools are being upgraded. In order to solve the problem of single teacher schools 500 additional teachers are being appointed to make the schools double teacher schools. The State Government has also passed Jammu and Kashmir School Education Act under which the elementary education has been made compulsory.

Non-formal education

I am conscious of the fact that there are certain sections of society who are not in a position to send their wards to schools due to their engagement in the economic activities for augmentation of income of their parents. In order to help these children the State Government has opened 1835 non-formal education part time centres where education is being imparted to the students for two hours a day according to the timings convenient to them.

Incentives

In order to arrest drop out rate in the schools various incentive schemes like free supply of text books, stationery, uniforms and scholarships are being implemented. During the 6th plan period an amount of Rs. 37.50 lacs was earmarked for this purpose and by the end of sixth plan period 232600 children will be benefitted by these welfare schemes. During the current year a provision of Rs. 12 lacs has been kept and 75000 children are likely

to be covered under this programme. For nomadic and backward population of Gujjars and Bakerwals 164 mobile primary schools have been opened so far and nine hostels constructed at district headquarters. In addition to this Rs. 44.23 lacs have been provided during the current year on account of scholarship for this community and the beneficiaries will be forty thousand. These efforts of the State Government will fructify unless parents ensure that their children remain in schools upto the age of fourteen years.

The role of field officers is also of great importance for the implementation of the programme and stress needs to be laid on inspections and correct reporting so that the problems and achievements are solved and highlighted.

Women's education

It is a fact that girls are lagging behind boys in education. The State Government is planning to appoint four hundred female teachers during the current year for which central assistance to the tune of rupees twenty lakhs is also available. The appointment of female teachers will definitely attract more girls to schools.

I feel that there is a need of involvement of local community in the process of universalization. The school committees consisting of social workers and other members of society should be formed. The functions of these committees should be to monitor regularly the attendance of children and teachers. These committees should also identify the non starters so that parents of non starters are motivated for sending their children to schools.

In order to fulfil our dream of Naya Kashmir involvement of community as a whole is a must which will help in the achievement of universalization of elementary education.

Centre against commercialisation of education : Rao

NEW DELHI, Oct 27 (U.N.I.) — The Centre is strongly opposed to any commercialisation of education.

"We do not approve of selling education to the highest bidder", the Minister for Human Resource Development, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, said in an interview with the U.N.I.

He was replying to a question on the action of some of the State Governments in encouraging the setting up of private medical colleges and engineering institutions and collecting capitation fees.

"But the insistence on freezing technical education completely because of lack of funds at the Government's disposal will just not work. We are seized of the matter and are thinking about it seriously", he said.

Mr Rao said education being a concurrent subject was not a

hindrance to the Centre in bringing about educational reforms.

"On the contrary, it is a useful device," he said.

About bringing about uniformity in the educational system, Mr Rao said unity was not uniformity. "I am not sure total uniformity is possible or desirable in education. Areas of uniformity are being selected. They will be adhered to."

Asked if the new educational system would have the paraphernalia to be implemented in the next academic year, Mr Rao said: "In one way, the answer is no. No one claims to be able to complete everything by next year".

Only the perspective for a new educational policy had been published. "What can be introduced next year and what can follow thereafter will only depend on the content of the policy

itself," Mr Rao Said.

He said the perspective had been published for the specific purpose of initiating a public debate. The policy would come after that. Had the final policy been announced, the debate would only consist of bouquets on the one hand and brickbats on the other. "We are now expecting original ideas."

However, not much of original ideas had come from the public. "This is quite discouraging."

Replying to another question Mr Rao said: "The educational system should build the brain and it is for society to stop its drain and utilise it here."

Asked if he thought politics should be kept out of university campuses, Mr Rao said: "In this matter nobody's thinking counts, including mine. It is a debate which seems to have become stale even in high schools".

About reservation of jobs for women, Mr Rao said there was no such proposal before the Government at present.

When his attention was drawn to a recent Andhra Pradesh Government announcement of 30 per cent job reservation for women, he said: "I would prefer to consider proposals independently and for the whole country".

Mr Rao said he was not aware of any concrete decision regarding setting up of more women's universities on the pattern of S.N.D.T. "But this can be considered favourably," he said.

NOV., 29, 1985

Education reforms likely in 1987-88

By NARENDRA REDDY
Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Nov 28.

The new education policy involving major reforms in the structure and content of the education system might be implemented only from the 1987-88 education year while the Ministry of Human Resources Development is proposing to take up all preparatory steps next year, like a massive programme of in-teacher training to prepare them for the new task and preparation of new curricula. All other formalities like getting the approval of the National Development Council and the Parliament for the new policy are expected to be completed by next March.

The Minister of Human Resources Development, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, is having batch-wise discussions with state education ministers from this month. A preparatory conference of state education ministers is also being planned for December, well before the special meeting of the National Development Council, to be held in February or March next year, to consider the new education policy.

The Ministry of Human Resources Development is glad that the policy document on the challenge of education prepared by it had evoked wide interest, with over seven lakh copies of it having been distributed by both the Centre and the states. The Prime Minis-

ter, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had already answered one of the main criticisms raised by some chief ministers like Mr Jyoti Basu of West Bengal that the proposed policy was elite oriented. The ministry is drawing up its defence on the basis of the statement that had been made by the Prime Minister, while laying the foundation of Indira Gandhi Open University that the new policy would be shaped only to benefit the poorer sections. The Prime Minister had also said that the criticism aimed at the proposed model schools was misplaced and that the Government was aware that majority of schools in the rural areas did not have even blackboards.

In spite of additional Rs 900 crore given to Human Resources Development in the Seventh Plan, the ministry still feels that there would be serious shortage of funds for the implementation of the new policy. In light of this the ministry is reviewing the structure and pattern of utilisation of Plan and non-Plan funds to ensure their optimum use. This apart, it is proposed to tap non-budgetary resources from the community for replenishing and augmenting physical facilities in educational institutions.

For the first time sports and youth services have been allocated a massive sum of Rs 443 crore in the Seventh Plan of which Rs 300 crore is in the central sector. One opinion is that since most of the expenditure on sports and youth will be made in schools and colleges, separate budgeting for it, as is now being done, might not be necessary and that it should be properly integrated with the overall budget for human resources development. An amount of about Rs 482 crore has been provided for art and culture. The promotion and appreciation of arts and the rich national culture is proposed to be made part of the education curricula and training.

The Ministry of Human Resources Development has five departments — education, youth affairs and sports, arts, culture and women's welfare — with five separate secretaries. The Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, has set up a committee of secretaries to report on the way coordination is to be achieved within the five departments.

New education policy: weak signals

By DINESH MOHAN

THE Education Ministry's 117-page document, "Challenge of Education - A Policy Perspective" contains a great deal of background noise, such that it is not easy to detect the signals.

The main theme of the document is that education in India, from the primary school to the post-graduate level, is an unholy mess. It is an official admission of failure. But, like most documents prepared in India, the response to the problem remains at the level of good intentions. The symptoms are criticised severely, the causes mentioned in passing, and the cure left to do-gooders.

The document makes quite a few noises regarding education and development. But nowhere do the authors clearly state whether the present socio-political system can promote change in the directions they wish and if not, what is the maximum we should expect. They also admit that the level of educational attainments among people should not be "too disparate between sexes, among social groups and across geographical regions". But, from the kind of programmes suggested, it is quite clear that the present differences will be allowed to continue.

There is absolutely no excuse for our miserable literacy rates. According to the World Bank, out of 125 countries listed by it, there are only 26 with worse literacy rates than India. Very different kind of political systems and economies have much higher literacy rates than India - Uganda, the Philippines, Paraguay, Chile, South Korea, Cuba, China and Zaire. When many countries with lower per-capita incomes have higher literacy rates than us, our poverty and large population cannot be presented as the reasons for such failures. If a country like Vietnam can have an adult literacy rate of 87 per cent as against 36 per cent for India (1980 figures) it is quite clear that neither high per capita income nor political stability are prerequisites for universal literacy. It looks more as though universal literacy has not been a primary concern for those who rule India.

Facts documented

The document must be complimented for documenting facts which show that the Central Government and most State governments have not taken primary education seriously enough. It quite rightly points out that fund allocations for rural areas need to be increased, college and university students need to be used in the eradication of literacy, female literacy needs to be given special attention and that the appalling state of the schools needs to be improved. But

the possibility of using the Army and educated non-working spouses in this endeavour is not considered.

The familiar statistics are repeated: 40 per cent of elementary schools have no pucca buildings, 35 per cent have one teacher, 60 per cent have no drinking water, and 40 per cent have no blackboards. But at no point does the document say that these schools should be given all this in a specified period of time. How many of them will actually get these facilities is left vague because there is talk of non-formal education and education through satellites and TVs.

There is also a great deal of talk of community involvement and use of voluntary organisations. But we should realise that the poor see this as abdication of responsibility by the state. No such appeals are made when programmes benefitting the rich have to be implemented.

Disturbing aspects

Some of the more disturbing aspects of the document deal with what it expects education to do for national integration, pride in our heritage and culture, and in helping overcome "material, social and spiritual problems of living". Though it recognises in places that what happens in a nation depends on its ideological climate and socio-political systems, the relationship between the education-establishment and the rest of the system is dealt with in a confused manner. Nowhere does it admit that some of the worst violations of the above ideals in the past couple of years have taken place in the most "educated" parts of our country - Bombay, Delhi, Gujarat and Punjab.

Disturbingly too, values, heritage and culture are expected to be promoted through education in schools and colleges. What values, whose values, which heritage and which part of our composite culture are we going to teach? Every school child in India goes through the mandatory bit on ahimsa and Gandhi, but we see little proof of its effect in real life. Formal education is obviously not that effective in changing people's behaviour in the face of other environmental pressures. For example, the image of a modern woman as a long-legged slim western girl is promoted by our ad-agencies and consolidated by Doordarshan's relay of the Miss World extra vaganza from Miami Beach. Other images, models and stereotypes do not stand a chance, and certainly not through classroom teaching. The authors of the document are somewhat aware of this, but only mention it in passing: "radio, T.V. and films now-a-days distort the process of

education".

A great deal of hope is placed on fancy technology, satellites and television. But if a large number of low-income countries have managed to raise their literacy rates without these technologies, what prevents us from doing so? We must realise that much of learning is dreary for many but we still learn because there are other factors that make traditional education effective: the desire to compete with peers, companionship and the socialisation process, and forced activity. These are there in addition to any desire for learning and curiosity. But not all children are that motivated, and so the less motivated and the disadvantaged may actually suffer if a passive medium like TV is used for the primary education of poor children. If the policy-makers and the rich are so convinced of the possibilities of TV education, then why don't they close down all the central schools and the public schools and let their children enjoy the benefits of non-formal 21st century TV education? The funds and teachers freed by this move can be used for traditional formal education for poorer children.

There are a few clear signals regarding primary and secondary educations in the document:

(i) Much greater importance should be given to elementary and adult education. This is probably the most important aspect of the document and the on-going debate should centre on how 100 per cent literacy will be achieved by 1995 and what costs must be paid to achieve this.

Vocational education

(ii) Vocational education should be stressed much more at the pre-higher secondary level also. How this will actually be achieved is not mentioned. What has to be designed is a system of incentives and training procedures for those individuals and craftsmen who are on the job for upgrading their skills. These would have to be part-time and very short-term courses which include senior working persons as instructors and apprentices as students. These courses can be both in-house for large organisations and also general purpose, open to the small sector.

(iii) Pacesetter Model Schools in the Central Sector are going to be set up in every district. This, the document says, "reflects not only the extent of Central commitment to education but also its concern for equity". I fear that it may have the opposite effect. But funds (Rs 2 crore per school) seem to have already been allocated for this purpose. Two are to be inaugurated very soon. One

wonders why the authorities have not waited for the results of the national debate? Or is the concept of District Model Schools outside the scope of the debate?

The maximum good these schools may do is to ensure that middle-level bureaucrats may not be that anxious to get transferred out of smaller districts to larger towns for the sake of their children's education. These schools will end up sucking all the resources, time and energy of district education officials, and the other schools and education programmes for poorer children will end up being neglected.

Limitations

It is a fact of life that to focus on and succeed in some thing we must de-emphasize something else. So too with policy objectives. The framers of this policy document do not say what they are willing to give up or de-emphasize for the time being, all their claims to a "holistic" approach notwithstanding.

The nicest thing one can say about the document is that the authors know their limitations within the present system and want outsiders to do their more difficult work for them. Therefore they have given ample scope for criticism and public reaction so that the system will be under pressure from outside. A more cynical view would hold that we are in for another round of more-of-the-same, so that the bureaucrats can write another critique, and appeal for a New Education Policy in the year 2001, again demonstrating the vibrancy and openness of our political system.

We cannot even indulge in a meaningful debate on education policy unless the authors specify the boundary conditions for the debate; desired income distribution in 2001 AD; assumed industrial and agricultural growth rates for the next 15 years; desired education levels for each economic class; deadline for universal literacy.

Unless this is done only fears can lurk in the back of our minds. Fears that in spite of noises to the contrary, for the first time since 1947, the goal of universal literacy and formal primary education is actually being abandoned. At least the Constitution set a deadline for the same. This document does not. There are also fears that the more money spinning (for the implementers), hardware-oriented image-making schemes, and those benefitting the richer strata of society, will get implemented, whereas the others will languish owing to "lack of finances" or "lack of the will" to implement them.

It will take more than a well-intentioned policy document to dispel these fears.

Open varsity to start in '87

By SUREKHA VIJH

NEW DELHI, September 11.

THE much publicised Indira Gandhi National Open University which was scheduled to open its academic session in September-October, will not start before January next year, according to the vice-chancellor, Prof. G. Ram Reddy. Enrolment for the various courses will commence in December.

According to the University authorities, who have been shuttling between four offices at YMCA, Hauz Khas, Sarva Priya Vihar and Safdarjung Development Area, the reason for the uncertainty and undue delay is that the "board of management" is yet to be constituted. Only after the board starts functioning, will construction on the campus start.

At present, the university, established with great fanfare last September, by an Act of Parliament, is just a 100 acres open land with two half constructed rooms at Maidan Garhi village.

Construction of the main building will commence only when a model is selected on the basis of an "architecture competition." The Institute of Architecture and Town Planning is working out the modalities of the competition.

A Rs. 2.5-crore project, the university is entirely funded by the government. Details of various allocations of funds are not yet ready as these would be decided by a jury which will come into being only after the board of management starts functioning.

According to Prof. Reddy, who has the distinction of starting the first open university in Hyderabad, open universities usually took time in being set up as a lot of preparation was needed. He said an open university in the U.K. took three years, while that in Bangkok took four years to start.

At present, no admissions are being carried out. Letters regarding details have piled up, according to Mr A. K. S. Nair, administrative officer.

DIPLOMA COURSES

The information officer, Mr C. P. Khanna, said it would be sometime in January that the university will start its first diploma courses in business administration, home science and computer science. By the middle of 1987, under-graduate courses of humanities are expected to start.

The project has about 100 staff members in administrative, faculty, security and other departments. Fifty houses in the Asian Games village have been purchased which will be occupied by faculty members once the university starts functioning.

The university proposes to offer

courses in humanities, sciences, social sciences, education, law, health sciences, engineering and technology and agricultural sciences. It will conduct its own academic programmes.

In the study of science and technology, there is a provision for home experiment kits with built-in guidance and counselling which require no entry qualifications, only enough maturity and understanding.

According to the vice-chancellor, the university would cater to different correspondence courses which will be supported by audio-visual and electronic communication systems. They would also be hiring time from Doordarshan and All India Radio.

Relaxed entry regulation with no age bar, qualification and place is an important feature. Even drop-outs, housewives and working people can pursue higher studies. There will be flexibility in the combination of subjects, and their duration. Nominal fees will be charged and teachers will get the UGC grade.

According to Prof. Reddy, the aim of the university is to advance and disseminate knowledge by diversity of means and to provide opportunities for higher education to people living in distant places.

Navodaya schools to break elitism: PM

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, September 11.

THE Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today called for converting the government's ambitious programme of taking education to the remotest areas of the country into a mass movement.

Inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the National Council of Educational Research and Training here, the Prime Minister said that in making education a national endeavour and a social movement the active involvement of voluntary agencies would further supplement government's efforts.

Mr Gandhi said that the primary aim in formulating the new education policy was to develop the mind, personality and individuality of a person. In this regard, he said that the "Navodaya" schools would break the elitism in our educational system and provide "top class education" in every district.

Stressing the need to revive traditional values in modern educational system, Mr Gandhi said that special attention should be paid to educate the younger generation on the freedom struggle and to inculcate the values, thoughts and ideas that dominated during those tumultuous times.

Mr Gandhi said that the new education policy which seeks to provide qualitative education to millions would take at least a whole generation to produce results but any neglect would not be forgiven by the younger generation.

The Prime Minister announced that to give a thrust to the education plan an outlay of 6 per cent would be allotted in the eighth Plan. He called for technological advancement and said that unless we are leaders in technology we will be always under pressure from outside forces.

The human resources development minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, in his address said that the Prime Minister had devoted nearly 22 hours in the formulation of new education policy to help make it an effective instrument for social development. He praised the work done by the NCERT in bringing out materials and aids needed for teaching. The minister sought the cooperation of the NCERT in implementing the new policy in letter and spirit.

The director of the NCERT, Prof. P. L. Malhotra, in his address said that the council's area of influence at present is about 110 million students, 3.5 million teachers and about 6.5 lakh institutions. He said that about 70 million students will be added into our school system in the next five years.

Calling for sharpening the competencies and training programmes of the teachers, the director said that if the status and position of the teacher and the teacher educator and educational administrator is not improved, the new education policy will be a non-starter. We need to select better teachers and we also need to make them accountable. If we create a new teacher, he in turn will create a new student and only then we will accomplish substantially the tasks of the new education policy, he added.

On the occasion, the Prime Minister presented copies of the NCERT publication — "India's Struggle for Independence — visuals and documents" to two distinguished freedom fighters — Prof. N. G. Ranga and Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali.

The national fellowship of the National Institute of Education were also given to the following distinguished educationists: Mr Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, director general of the UNESCO, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Prof. D. P. Chattopadhyaya, Prof. D. S. Kothari, Dr. Man Mohan Singh, Prof. M. G. K. Menon, Prof. Raja Ramanna, Prof. Yash Pal, Prof. V. V. John, Dr. P. N. Kirpal, Prof. Rais Ahmed, Prof. Shib K. Mitra, Prof. Chitra J. Naik and Prof. Rajamal P. Devadas.

Fast-Changing Congress CMs

Unhealthy Impact On Polity

ByINDER MALHOTRA

WITH the exception of Mr J. B. Patnaik in Orissa, no one who was a Congress chief minister in 1980 is holding that office today. Lest someone should dispute this by citing the case of the redoubtable Mr Bhajan Lal, let it be said right away that in January 1980, when Indira Gandhi returned to power at the Centre, he was the Janata, not the Congress, chief minister of Haryana.

That almost overnight he brought about the collective defection of the entire Janata legislature party to the Congress side and has since then managed to remain in the saddle, despite many stresses and shenanigans, is a testimony as much to his skill as to the highly permissive political culture that prevails. But that is a different matter.

The pertinent point, under discussion at present, is the quick turnover of Congress chief ministers and the baneful impact it has had on not only the ruling party but also the administration in various states and indeed the national polity as a whole.

Mr N. D. Tiwari's exit as chief minister of U.P. and re-entry into the Union cabinet vividly underscores the problem which is both deep-seated and widespread. It is no mere coincidence that during the nine months of this year since Mr Rajiv Gandhi secured the electorate's massive mandate in the Lok Sabha poll, Congress chief ministers have been changed suddenly in no fewer than six states. Over the five-year period, in a number of states chief ministers have changed as often as thrice.

Only two of the six changes since January can be said to have been forced by external circumstances. In Rajasthan, Mr Shiy Charan Mathur could not possibly have continued after the Deeg outrage during which the police cold-bloodedly killed an opposition candidate. In Gujarat, Mr Madhavsingh Solanki's position became untenable, thanks to his own incompetence as well as arrogance over the reservation issue.

For the rest, the changes were the results of internal strains within the Congress party in the relevant states, combined with wire-pulling by powerful elements in New Delhi on the one hand and inept political management by the ruling party's central leadership on the other. How else does one explain either the messy ouster of Mr Vasantdada Patil in Maharashtra or the curious case of Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh in Bihar?

More Instructive

Of these two instances, the one concerning Mr C. S. Singh is the more instructive because it pitilessly exposes the absence of any pattern or even purpose behind changes made with distressing frequency. Ad hocism seems all.

After all, Mr Singh was sent to Patna only in August 1983, to displace Dr. Jagannath Mishra, until then considered invulnerable. Quite clearly his performance was considered below par. But then why was he not eased out just before the state assembly poll in March this year but given the order of the boot only on the morrow of the poll during which he had led the party to victory? Another surprise followed. Within a fortnight of his ouster, to make way for Mr Bindeshwari Dubey, Mr Singh

was brought to the Centre as minister of state (a rather low rank for a former chief minister) and given independent charge of textiles. Now he has been dropped from the central council of ministers, too, in circumstances that do no credit either to him or those who may have masterminded the treatment meted out to him.

For it was clear as daylight even on March 30 when he was made a junior minister in New Delhi that he must be elected to either house of Parliament within six months if he were to retain his post. And yet no attempt was made either to find him a berth in the Rajya Sabha or to get a vacancy created in the Lok Sabha so that he could contest the consequent by-election.

The implication of this masterly inaction was also crystal clear. But Mr Singh did not take the hint. When the sands of time had practically run out he started running from pillar to post. But his pathetic last-minute appeal that his wife be allowed to vacate her Lok Sabha seat for his benefit also went unheeded.

In the case of Mr N. D. Tiwari it is noteworthy that his retranslation to the industry ministry in New Delhi's Udyog Bhavan has been as abrupt as was his despatch to Lucknow in August last year. Indeed, he was just unpacking his bags in Vienna, where he had gone to represent this country at the UNIDO annual conference, when he was told on the telephone to return home to take over as chief minister of U.P. from the luckless Mr Sripathi Misra who had simultaneously been stunned by New Delhi sudden *firman* to tender his resignation.

New Style

To be sure, such things did not originate in the eighties but date back to the early seventies when, in the wake of the first Congress split and Mrs Indira Gandhi's sweeping victory in subsequent general election, a new political style developed in Delhi. But that is no reason for perpetuating a pernicious practice which has done the political system much too great a harm already. Indeed, what is expected of Mr Rajiv Gandhi is a revival of the run-down institutions and instruments of the Indian state among which the office of chief minister occupies an important place.

Jawaharlal Nehru's pre-eminence did not suffer one bit because of the fact that state chief ministers in his days included such stalwarts as Mr C. Rajagopalachari, Dr B. C. Roy, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Dr Sri Krishan Sinha. Both the centre and the states gained a great deal also when men like Mr Kamaraj or Mr Y. B. Chavan as chief ministers provided their states with both stability and dynamism.

But all this now appears very remote. Leave alone leaders like Rajaji, Pandit Pant, Mr Kamaraj and Mr Chavan, there is no one in the ranks of Congress chief ministers today who could be compared even to, say, Mr Sukhadia in Rajasthan or Mr V. P. Naik in Maharashtra.

Not to put any gloss on the situation, the bitter truth is that in Congress-run states the prestige of the office of chief minister has been practically destroyed because of the dubious and dangerous prac-

tice of hand-picking even non-entities, installing them as chief ministers at New Delhi's whim and removing them equally capriciously.

This dismal state of affairs has had two seemingly contradictory but actually complementary consequences, both equally disastrous. First, whenever and wherever New Delhi's nominees for chief ministership have been weak-kneed, bumbling and naive, they have tended to become prisoners in the hands of local groups of grasping MLAs or wily power brokers. The impact on the state of the administration and the quality of political life has been nothing short of catastrophic.

Secondly, as often as not those pitchforked into the office of chief minister turn out to be knaves rather than fools. Behind the smoke-screen of "undying loyalty" to the leader in New Delhi, they lose no time in establishing a virtual fiefdom of their own by the time-honoured technique of suborning the MLAs through bribery and blackmail. Corruption and abuse of power by such men has put to shade anything done by the likes of Mr Pratap Singh Kairon or Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed.

Order of Day

In the circumstances, is it any surprise that utter cynicism, fawning sycophancy, political instability even in states where the Congress has overwhelming majorities and consequent maladministration have become the order of the day?

The crowning irony of the situation, however, is that the Congress seems to have learnt nothing even from its debacle in its one-time citadels of Andhra and Karnataka. The party's rout in Andhra at least was due entirely to its penchant for treating chief ministership as New Delhi's gift to be granted or withdrawn at will. Mr N. T. Rama Rao skillfully exploited the hurt to Andhra's pride caused first by the appointment as the state chief minister of Mr T. Anjiah and then his public deflation and final removal.

The subsequent blunder of the sacking of the Rama Rao ministry by Mr Ram Lal — another dismissed Congress chief minister made governor of a distant state — has consolidated and strengthened NTR's position immeasurably even though his party is perhaps in even worse shape than the Congress in Andhra.

One would have thought that the Congress, even while mismanaging things in states where it is in power, would be more deft in conducting its affairs where it has been out of power and must therefore work hard to regain its prestige, influence and authority. But this is far from being the case, as even a cursory glance at the goings-on in West Bengal will show.

Mr Pranab Mukherjee, made PCC president only in April, is the third state Congress chief to have to go in less than three years in a manner that can hardly be called glorious. The almost simultaneous return to the central cabinet of his arch rival, Mr A. B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhury, completes his discomfiture. Mr Mukherjee's successor, the youthful Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, has many commendable qualities. But he will not find it easy to conciliate or contain Congress factions fiercely opposed to him. And the CPM will give him even less respite than it gave Mr Mukherjee.

Fragmentation Of Education

Need For A Comprehensive Policy

By AMRIK SINGH

AN exercise to prepare a new education policy for the country has been in progress for over a year. Within the next couple of months a draft policy document would be presented to Parliament and, hopefully, it would get implemented with effect from June-July, 1986.

In the document issued by the ministry of education in August 1985, no reference was made to those aspects of education which do not directly fall under its purview. To be specific, there was nothing about medical, agricultural or legal education in the said document. Medical education is handled by the ministry of health and agricultural education by the ministry of agriculture.

Legal education is handled by the UGC and in that sense by the ministry of education, though the Bar Council of India has a good deal to do with it. Whatever be the details, the fact remains that while technical education which is handled by the department of education is included in the policy under preparation, no attempt is being made to bring in other aspects and dimensions of education.

On the face of it, this looks odd. It can be nobody's contention that these aspects of education do not require a fresh look and that every thing in regard to them is in order or does not call for a re-assessment. What seems to be happening is that, as in the past, we continue to be victims of fragmentation in our educational thinking. There is every reason, for instance, for medical education continuing to be handled by the ministry of health. But there is no reason whatsoever for it not being seen as a part of the total educational endeavour.

For decades a career in medicine has been one of the preferred options of brilliant students. Usually the choice before an ambitious student is between medicine and engineering. Despite all the expansion of industry and technology that has taken place during the recent decades, the pull of a career in medicine has not weakened.

Great Expansion

In terms of facilities also there has been a marked expansion in the number of medical colleges and the number of students joining them. Between 1947 and 1986, the number of medical colleges went up to 120 from less than 20 and the number of students went up accordingly and in some of them the number of seats was also increased. It was in the sphere of medical education that the system of capitation fee developed in the first instance. As of today, almost a score of them admit students only on this basis. Despite all the expansion of facilities that has taken place the demand is far from met. It is only the brightest amongst the students who can join a medical college. Therefore the problem of access and of a suitable fee structure are two important problems which confront those who seek to formulate a new education policy.

Apart from these two problems which stare anyone in the face, there are several others also; the most obvious of them being that of standards. Approximately one-third of

the medical colleges are good and one-third of them are distinctly poor. The remaining one-third range anywhere between these two categories. Except for the good colleges, most others are unable to attract good and competent teachers and are woefully lacking in equipment, hospital beds and other related facilities. While something depends upon the emoluments offered and the conditions of work, a good deal also depends upon the ethos of work that prevails in these institutions.

The profession is not in favour of introducing a degree junior to that of MBBS. Before 1947 there were two types of courses. Everyone did not have to do the M.B.B.S. degree; some could do the licentiate course. Soon after India became independent, this binary system was discontinued and now everyone who chooses to join a medical college is obliged to study for MBBS. Was this change preceded by a debate or was a decision taken without studying the pros and cons of the issue?

The question is worth asking. For more than a decade the notion of what are called the 'barefoot doctors' on the model of China has been in the air. In the late 60s everybody took note of the fact that one reason why China was able to provide medical aid for almost every citizen was the fact that it adopted a realistic policy. It is widely known that 90 per cent of medical problems that most people have do not require expertise of a high order. Anyone who has had elementary training say for 2-3 years can easily attend to the needs of the bulk of the population.

Wrong Policy

We in India have failed to do this partly for the reason that we have followed a wrong policy in professional training as well as provision of medical facilities. If some of the abler students in the country opt for a career in medicine and if the training that they receive is of a high order, it is idle to expect them to go to the countryside and work at the barefoot level. If that objective is to be accomplished it stands to reason that we also try to attract such students who would be prepared to receive elementary training and work on the 'barefoot' level while others who were more talented would opt for a high degree of professionalism. In other words, both kinds of training should be imparted. Should any one raise the spectre of a caste system in medicine, all that one can say is that either he does not understand the issue or he is deliberately trying to confuse it. There is nothing new in all this. These issues have been discussed for a number of years but so far no steps have been taken to break with the existing elite-oriented system.

The situation in India is not comparable to that in developed countries. If everyone who opts for a medical career in those countries receives advanced training, the simple explanation for it is that they can afford to divert a substantial part of their national income to welfare activities like adequate health facilities. In our country

where the national income is low, funds for items like medical training and medical aid are inevitably limited. Therefore only a small percentage of the population receives adequate medical help and the vast majority goes without it.

Were we to adopt the kind of system that has been adopted in China, we would be able to cover a much larger proportion of the population. It is essentially a question of appropriate and flexible planning. It seems, however, that we are so blinded by our class prejudices that we are unable to look at a problem from any point of view other than that of either narrow self interest or professionalism without reference to its context.

Sen's Remark

A remark made by Amartya K. Sen in another connection can be legitimately quoted here. Referring to the systematic neglect of girls when it comes to feeding them as against the boys, Sen said in 1982, "The elections, the newspapers and the political parties work powerfully against dramatic deprivations and new suffering but *easily allow the quiet continuation of an astonishing set of persistent injustices*". This statement is now equally true of health services in India.

It should not be necessary to argue any further along these lines except to call attention to another aspect of this problem. It is widely recognised that in our country para-medical help is totally inadequate and exceptionally weak both in terms of training and serviceability. Two factors contribute to it. One is the relative neglect and low attractiveness of jobs at this level and the second is the comparative lack of attention to vocational education at the higher secondary level. It is students at that level who can be attracted into para-medical careers. With a little effort and some planning, para-medical courses can be introduced in most schools. In this way it should become possible to produce a large number of para-medical personnel. In fact this is one area of education which can also be systematically promoted in village schools. A large number of girls would feel attracted to these careers. They in turn would be able to help in the family planning programmes. Not only would such an innovation increase literacy amongst women which is recognised to be one of the problems in this area, it would lead to other far-reaching changes of a social and economic character. The possibilities are endless; only we have not paid enough attention to them.

There are various other problems like migration of doctors to foreign countries, institution of a condensed MBBS course for those who go in for the elementary kind of training, the possibility of having a three-year course for everyone with a compulsory field job for a period of two years and another two years of academic work after that and so on. There are all kinds of problems and possibilities but these are not being referred to here because the intention is to call attention mainly to a gaping hole in the new education policy.

Curriculum as choice

By KRISHNA KUMAR

DISCUSSIONS on curriculum in our country have typically been concerned with the dichotomy between 'centralised' and 'decentralised' models. This dichotomy is significant but the point has come when it does not promise any guidance for action because a larger issue has enveloped it. This larger issue is that of the relevance of educational knowledge. The feeling that educational institutions — from primary schools to universities — do not offer knowledge useful for the country's needs is quite widespread. Whether this feeling reflects the truth needs to be examined. If we find that the feeling does reflect the truth, then the dichotomy between 'centralised' and 'decentralised' models of curriculum will become quite meaningless for us. After all, if the knowledge content of curriculum is itself irrelevant for the society's present needs, how does it matter whether the curriculum is prepared centrally or locally?

Colonial education

Before we look into the question of relevance, though, we need to remind ourselves that the situation was not always the way it is today. The knowledge and skills available at educational institutions during colonial days could not easily be charged of being useless or irrelevant. Colonial education was designed for a definite purpose, and it served that purpose for a lot of its clients. That purpose was to equip students with skills to take up office jobs, from modest clerical ones to those involving administration. Clerical skills, such as copying neatly, summarising, memorising, and drafting formal letters, were the mainstay of colonial curriculum. Along with these skills, colonial education emphasized certain attitudes and behaviours, such as acceptance of one's subservience and lack of original-

ity, that were useful for building up a congenial ethos for colonial control.

During the freedom struggle, the curriculum of a large number of institutions reflected the ethos of nationalist values and struggle. The Swadeshi movement influenced the orientation of many institutions of higher learning. A great deal of the research done by historians, economists, and scientists provides evidence of this change. Their research identified the roots of India's subservience and poverty, and built a base for independent development. At the school level, Gandhi's thesis of basic education permeated pedagogical thought and experiments of an amazing number of teachers — amazing in view of the fact that basic education represented a radical stance not only pedagogically but also politically. Some present-day, educational scholars have grossly underestimated the impact of basic education, describing it as a 'failure' because it failed to survive for long after independence.

Indeed, the momentum generated in education by the independence struggle died soon after 1947. Gandhi's demand for linking education to self-reliance of rural community life lost in the battle of electoral politics whose norms made the village community dependent on patronage from above. Basic education became a victim of the orthodoxy of influential Gandhians on the one hand, and of political and bureaucratic fraud on the other. At the level of higher education, India was swamped by the nascent post-War American ideological propaganda which took the form of attractive-looking social theories linked with cleverly wrapped packages of technology. Our colleges and universities went all the way to stuff their curricula with borrowed knowledge and theorising. Institutions entrusted with innovating in educational research and training freely peddled imported ideas and mod-

els that had no relevance for the Indian child and teacher.

Since the late sixties, disillusionment with education has been growing in the entire society, but especially among students and teachers. Although student movements have never been able to clearly formulate their resentment, its source lies in the futility of educational knowledge. The brighter among school teachers have become cynical as they see no room in their routine for innovative teaching of useful skills and knowledge. They are condemned to the daily chanting of lessons from textbooks prepared and prescribed by a remote authority. Even at the level of research, students and their teachers remain isolated from the practical issues of the society and environment surrounding them. Like programmed robots, they churn out data and interpretations following the inexorable laws of acceptability by others engaged in the same process.

In this situation, it hardly matters whether we opt for a 'national core curriculum' approach or a 'locally differentiated' one. Like much else in educational thinking, these fine terms too have been borrowed, from societies where debates are directly linked to avenues of action. Here, the debate on curriculum is taking place in a vast vacuum. Teachers are not a part of the debate. Like humble functionaries of a giant factory they are carrying out their daily chores while those who have not taught children for one full day in their life are debating over 'national' vs 'local' approaches to curriculum building. Little do they hesitate to demand a common curriculum for all states in one breath, and praise the virtues of local initiative in the next. Basically, as in Orwell's prophesied world, nothing seems to mean anything as no one feels committed to the logic of one's own pronouncements.

Unless one had a blind spot, one should be able to appreciate the importance of the teacher's involvement in developing the curriculum within the purview of certain norms of expected achievement. It is facetious to oppose teachers' freedom to develop a curriculum on the ground that it would weaken the process of nation building. Indeed, it is high time for us to recognize that the role of education in nation building is more subtle than many bureaucrats or politicians think. Education contributes to building the nation by enhancing the child's interaction with his milieu in a thousand ways. If education can offer skills that last and which have practical use, it will go a lot farther in turning the child into a serious citizen than by moralising on the virtues of unity. Similarly, awakening the child's interest in the world around him — including its beauty and its filth — is more important for building a national society than having one set of textbooks for every state.

Crucial need

Curriculum is basically a matter of choices — of skills and knowledge. Which skills and which items of knowledge do we require? This should be our focus in deciding how we can conquer our present educational crisis to which mindless deposition of inert knowledge in lengthy syllabi and textbooks has contributed. If we pursue this focus, we will find that the major need is that of skills related to reasoning, imagination, and work. In terms of knowledge, our crucial need is of knowledge to solve the problems of poverty, oppression, health, environment, and social cohesion. Meaningful knowledge in these areas can be imparted only by evolving a curriculum whose core consists of the skills mentioned earlier rather than empty words.

Fragmentation Of Education

Need For A Comprehensive Policy

By AMRIK SINGH

AN exercise to prepare a new education policy for the country has been in progress for over a year. Within the next couple of months a draft policy document would be presented to Parliament and, hopefully, it would get implemented with effect from June-July, 1986.

In the document issued by the ministry of education in August 1985, no reference was made to those aspects of education which do not directly fall under its purview. To be specific, there was nothing about medical, agricultural or legal education in the said document. Medical education is handled by the ministry of health and agricultural education by the ministry of agriculture.

Legal education is handled by the UGC and in that sense by the ministry of education, though the Bar Council of India has a good deal to do with it. Whatever be the details, the fact remains that while technical education which is handled by the department of education is included in the policy under preparation, no attempt is being made to bring in other aspects and dimensions of education.

On the face of it, this looks odd. It can be nobody's contention that these aspects of education do not require a fresh look and that every thing in regard to them is in order or does not call for a re-assessment. What seems to be happening is that, as in the past, we continue to be victims of fragmentation in our educational thinking. There is every reason, for instance, for medical education continuing to be handled by the ministry of health. But there is no reason whatsoever for it not being seen as a part of the total educational endeavour.

For decades a career in medicine has been one of the preferred options of brilliant students. Usually the choice before an ambitious student is between medicine and engineering. Despite all the expansion of industry and technology that has taken place during the recent decades, the pull of a career in medicine has not weakened.

Great Expansion

In terms of facilities also there has been a marked expansion in the number of medical colleges and the number of students joining them. Between 1947 and 1986, the number of medical colleges went up to 120 from less than 20 and the number of students went up accordingly and in some of them the number of seats was also increased. It was in the sphere of medical education that the system of capitation fee developed in the first instance. As of today, almost a score of them admit students only on this basis. Despite all the expansion of facilities that has taken place the demand is far from met. It is only the brightest amongst the students who can join a medical college. Therefore the problem of access and of a suitable fee structure are two important problems which confront those who seek to formulate a new education policy.

Apart from these two problems which stare anyone in the face, there are several others also; the most obvious of them being that of standards. Approximately one-third of

the medical colleges are good and one-third of them are distinctly poor. The remaining one-third range anywhere between these two categories. Except for the good colleges, most others are unable to attract good and competent teachers and are woefully lacking in equipment, hospital beds and other related facilities. While something depends upon the emoluments offered and the conditions of work, a good deal also depends upon the ethos of work that prevails in these institutions.

The profession is not in favour of introducing a degree junior to that of MBBS. Before 1947 there were two types of courses. Everyone did not have to do the M.B.B.S. degree; some could do the licentiate course. Soon after India became independent, this binary system was discontinued and now everyone who chooses to join a medical college is obliged to study for MBBS. Was this change preceded by a debate or was a decision taken without studying the pros and cons of the issue?

The question is worth asking. For more than a decade the notion of what are called the 'barefoot doctors' on the model of China has been in the air. In the late 60s everybody took note of the fact that one reason why China was able to provide medical aid for almost every citizen was the fact that it adopted a realistic policy. It is widely known that 90 per cent of medical problems that most people have do not require expertise of a high order. Anyone who has had elementary training say for 2-3 years can easily attend to the needs of the bulk of the population.

Wrong Policy

We in India have failed to do this partly for the reason that we have followed a wrong policy in professional training as well as provision of medical facilities. If some of the abler students in the country opt for a career in medicine and if the training that they receive is of a high order, it is idle to expect them to go to the countryside and work at the barefoot level. If that objective is to be accomplished it stands to reason that we also try to attract such students who would be prepared to receive elementary training and work on the 'barefoot' level while others who were more talented would opt for a high degree of professionalism. In other words, both kinds of training should be imparted. Should any one raise the spectre of a caste system in medicine, all that one can say is that either he does not understand the issue or he is deliberately trying to confuse it. There is nothing new in all this. These issues have been discussed for a number of years but so far no steps have been taken to break with the existing elite-oriented system.

The situation in India is not comparable to that in developed countries. If everyone who opts for a medical career in those countries receives advanced training, the simple explanation for it is that they can afford to divert a substantial part of their national income to welfare activities like adequate health facilities. In our country

where the national income is low, funds for items like medical training and medical aid are inevitably limited. Therefore only a small percentage of the population receives adequate medical help and the vast majority goes without it.

Were we to adopt the kind of system that has been adopted in China, we would be able to cover a much larger proportion of the population. It is essentially a question of appropriate and flexible planning. It seems, however, that we are so blinded by our class prejudices that we are unable to look at a problem from any point of view other than that of either narrow self interest or professionalism without reference to its context.

Sen's Remark

A remark made by Amartya K. Sen in another connection can be legitimately quoted here. Referring to the systematic neglect of girls when it comes to feeding them as against the boys, Sen said in 1982, "The elections, the newspapers and the political parties work powerfully against dramatic deprivations and new suffering but *easily allow the quiet continuation of an astonishing set of persistent injustices*". This statement is now equally true of health services in India.

It should not be necessary to argue any further along these lines except to call attention to another aspect of this problem. It is widely recognised that in our country para-medical help is totally inadequate and exceptionally weak both in terms of training and serviceability. Two factors contribute to it. One is the relative neglect and low attractiveness of jobs at this level and the second is the comparative lack of attention to vocational education at the higher secondary level. It is students at that level who can be attracted into para-medical careers. With a little effort and some planning, para-medical courses can be introduced in most schools. In this way it should become possible to produce a large number of para-medical personnel. In fact this is one area of education which can also be systematically promoted in village schools. A large number of girls would feel attracted to these careers. They in turn would be able to help in the family planning programmes. Not only would such an innovation increase literacy amongst women which is recognised to be one of the problems in this area, it would lead to other far-reaching changes of a social and economic character. The possibilities are endless; only we have not paid enough attention to them.

There are various other problems like migration of doctors to foreign countries, institution of a condensed MBBS course for those who go in for the elementary kind of training, the possibility of having a three-year course for everyone with a compulsory field job for a period of two years and another two years of academic work after that and so on. There are all kinds of problems and possibilities but these are not being referred to here because the intention is to call attention mainly to a gaping hole in the new education policy.

Haryana seeks Rs 2,000 cr for new capital

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Nov 8.

The Haryana Chief Minister, Mr Bhajan Lal, has sought Rs 2000 crore central assistance to enable the state construct the first phase of its capital project. He has also sought that the Sutlej-Yamuna Canal Link (SYL) be declared a central project.

Participating in the National Development Council meeting here, he thanked the Prime Minister for extending financial assistance for construction of the SYL canal, which has to carry waters to Haryana from Punjab. But he said that due to the Punjab farmers' stir, construction work had slowed down, jeopardising completion by August 15, 1986, as stipulated under the Rajiv-Longowal accord.

He made some suggestions regarding additional resource mobilisation by states, including a review of the existing pattern of central assistance and sharing the proceeds of corporate taxes and custom imports.

He made a strong plea for fixing support prices of agricultural products on the basis of "economic cost of the inputs", so that the farmer could get remunerative prices of foodgrains, one for the weaker section of consumers and the other for the higher income strata. In appreciation of their impressive contribution to the national food pool, the surplus states should be paid handsome bonus by way of incentives.

He stressed the need for a national policy of industrial incentives and decried the unhealthy competition among the states to attract entrepreneurs. He wished it to be made obligatory for the new large and medium scale establishments to facilitate setting up their ancillaries in the nearby rural areas. This was necessary to extend industrial culture to rural areas, he added.

He assured the meeting that six per cent growth rate would be maintained by his state during the Seventh Plan. However, he said the pace of development might suffer a set back if the major hydro-electric and irrigation pro-

and the private sector. It is both a cause and an index of backwardness of J & K that the credit-deposit ratio of the commercial banks in Jammu and Kashmir continues to be far below the national average. While the Centre has recognised whole of the state as industrially backward and provided suitable incentives for promoting a climate for private investment and a special regard is shown in respect of licensing of new industrial capacities, it will help if more Central projects are put through in J & K during the Seventh Five-Year Plan. So far only two small Central industrial projects have come up in the state, he added.

The Chief Minister said the draft Seventh Five-Year Plan has rightly accorded highest priority to the power sector. There is vast potential for hydel power lying untapped in Jammu and Kashmir. Adequate Central investment in this sector should be given to the state, he said.

The Chief Minister said the draft plan refers only to the generation of captive power by industry. A suitable policy frame should be devised for the participation of the private capital both Indian and foreign in the power sector which should be suitably incorporated in the final plan document. It should include, amongst other things, the formation of the proposed Power Development and Finance Corporation.

One serious constraint in the economic development of Jammu and Kashmir has been its almost exclusive dependence on road communications because the presence of railways is negligible and limited up to Jammu city, he said. He appealed to take early action to bring the Kashmir valley on the railway map of India.

Centre asked to sanction canal project cost

20 year perspective plan drawn by Himachal Pradesh was fully funded and effectively implemented.

He pointed out the problem of massive inter-State importance in the fragile Shiwalik hills system and pleaded for provision of central funds for detailed investigation and initiating implementation of Rs 300 crore Integrated Shiwalik Development project in the Seventh Plan. The project would cover a catchment area of over 3,000 sq. km. in Himachal covering five rivers and affecting the States of UP Himachal, Haryana, Punjab and parts of Jammu and Kashmir.

MP demands more royalty on minerals

Madhya Pradesh has demanded an increase in the rate of royalty on minerals in order to help the State come out of its economic backwardness.

Speaking at the meeting here on Friday, the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr Motilal Vora, said that in the last six years the Centre had not increased the royalty on major minerals while the pit-mouth value of the minerals had gone up considerably. This had denied valuable financial resources to the State.

The Chief Minister said that no major step had also been taken by the exploiting organisations to restore the ecology which they were disturbing. Valuable forests in many districts of MP had to be removed for extraction of minerals. While the Prime Minister was deeply concerned with the preservation of ecology, he pleaded that the Central Government should direct its undertakings to ensure that the mined areas were replanted speedily and pollution controlled.

He said that in the next decade, an all-out effort has to be made, irrespective of political ideologies or religious

and health. The Centre's finances, however, indicated a minus balance from current revenues to the tune of about Rs 12,000 crore. The negative savings of the Central Government underscores the need for better fiscal management and reducing its reliance on deficit financing. In fact, the Plan envisages deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 14,000 crore. To the extent deficit financing is treated as a resource for financing the Plan, the states have a rightful share in this.

Mr Rama Rao said that the states have been allocated only about 30 per cent of the market borrowings. It may be noted that the states have been insisting upon a restoration of the position as obtained at the time of the First Five Year Plan, regarding the relative shares of the Centre and the states in open market borrowings. It would have been more appropriate if they are at least shared equally between the Union and the states. This is also justified by the fact that the additional resource mobilisation for financing the Plan is almost equally shared by the Union and the states.

Kerala wants extra weightage

The Kerala Chief Minister, Mr K. Karunakaran, has sought special weightage in distribution of central assistance to states like Kerala where per capita central investment and per capita state plan outlay had been below the national average.

Mr Karunakaran took exception to the ad hoc introduction of schemes sponsored by the Centre in the course of a plan.

He suggested finalisation of all such schemes much before the beginning of a financial year. In case it was not possible, such ad hoc schemes should be fully funded by the Centre so that the state plans were not dislocated.

Mr Karunakaran also suggested

Challenge of education—I

Schooling of girls

By SEVANTI NINAN
Express News Service

THREE developments seem strangely at odds with the concerns professed by a government anxious to promote human resources development through education.

The Planning Commission recently axed a scheme of awards to State Governments for performance in female enrolment in schools. The scheme was launched barely two years ago as an incentive to the States to promote female enrolment in a country where close to 80 per cent of the children out of school in the age group 6 to 14 are girls. According to officials of the Department of Education, the scheme had only just begun to show results.

Secondly, the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) had a component for non-formal adult education for mothers which too has been recently scrapped.

Third, the Women's Education Unit, set up within the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) to prepare non-sexist school curricula that project positive values about the role of women in society, has of late ceased to exist. The official explanation is that this unit has been merged with the Department of Teacher Education and that the good work will continue.

Education for girls does not emerge as a major concern in the policy perspective prepared by the Government. In keeping with the kind of administrative actions described above the document touches upon the subject most sparingly, noting that girls are still far behind boys in school enrolment, and attributing this gap to "the economical and occupational problems and cultural biases of society."

However, the facts merit far more serious attention. As Dr Vina Majumdar of the Centre for Women's Development Studies puts it, "The main problem of universalising elementary education is in fact the problem of enrolment of girls."

According to 1981 figures over 45 per cent of the girls in the 6-11 age group, over 75 per cent of those in 12-14 age group and over 85 per cent of the girls in 15-17 age group were out of school. The comparative figures for boys were 20 per cent, 57 per cent and 71 per cent. Retention rates of girls in various classes across the elementary school stage have also been persistently lower than that of boys. Out of ten girls who join class one, barely two reach class eight.

Concerned educators and social scientists therefore feel that the most crucial issue that the New Education Policy needs to address as far as education of girls is concerned, is simply that of access. Why do girls not go to school, and what can be done about it?

The involvement of girls in the 6 to 14 age group with family maintenance and family survival activities is now accepted as a major block to their literacy.

So what is the role of supportive services in improving access? Says Mina Swaminathan, a long-time educator, "You need many schemes, not any one approach." Apart from attaching creches and balwadis to schools, the provision of midday meals may also serve to net female children who would not otherwise be sent to school. The midday meals programme in Tamil Nadu is reported to have had a very positive effect on female enrolment.

As for the cost of providing such supportive services, Mrs Swaminathan says, "There are no low-cost methods and no-cost methods. If we want education for women, we must pay the price."

Dr Phulrenu Guha feels that the country must experiment in a big way and see which approaches work. She cites various examples from different parts of the country to make the point that wherever a balwadi has been attached to a school the enrolment of girls has gone up.

A Joint Secretary in the Department of Women's Welfare says that the Department of Education has so far been reluctant to recognise the absence of child care facilities at schools as a constraint to the education of girls. Will it do so now?

Use of resources

There have been proposals that the anganwadis created under the ICDS should become potential locations for non-formal education for women and girls. Dr Vina Majumdar, however, feels that it makes a lot more sense to attach ICDS anganwadis to schools, and expand the child care centre network far beyond the confines of the ICDS using resources available for school education.

While there is a strong case for giving many female children a non-formal option so that they have at least some access to education there are those who feel equally strongly that non-formal education in the present form offers little mobility to either boys or girls. Usha Nair of the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration says that many parents now feel that for girl children a non-formal education is good enough but she adds that girls can get further disabled if their exposure is limited to non-formal schooling.

She also points to low enrolment of girls as a failure of the administration, adding that "the core we need to touch is the educational administrator." Though U.P., Rajasthan, M.P. and Bihar have separate cadres of female administrators in education it is precisely these States which have the lowest

from Tilonia, Rajasthan, "If you talk to women about sending their children to school their immediate reaction is to which school and what for?" Others working among rural communities in other parts of the country such as Anthia Madiath from Ganjam District in Orissa, concur.

Rural girls do not have access to education because they are needed to look after siblings at home and because their mothers and fathers do not rate their access to schooling as important. The primary schools they see in rural areas are largely dysfunctional.

A study done by the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad on the impact of school incentives on the enrolment, attendance and retention of girls at the primary level concluded that the impact is marginal. The area studied was a tribal taluka of Gujarat and the incentives provided in this case were midday meals, additional foodgrains to boys and girls with a high monthly attendance, free uniforms and textbooks.

The study notes that the need for child labour in domestic and household maintenance activities served to depress the attendance and retention of girls at the primary level.

Recognising this strong recommendations are being made at various fora for the attachment of balwadis and creches to schools so that daughters of working class women can bring their younger siblings to the creche while they work.

elementary education.

The case, she says, is not for separate administrators for women's education but for the participation of women in education policy making, in the formulation of education plans at the national, state, district, block and institutional levels and in the implementation of these plans.

Today, though there are egalitarian-looking resource allocations, these are not reaching women. At the block level there are girls among the takers for rural scholarships, and among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the takers for schooling opportunities are all boys.

Usha Nair contends that there should be earmarking of non-divertable expenditure of educational incentives for girls, and if there are no takers for these, those who are running these schools should go out and spend some money getting them.

Though the Ministry's policy perspective document touches upon the advantages of both decentralisation and privatisation of education, those who advocate greater access to education for girls are wary of both these approaches. They point out that since resistance to girls' education is highest at the lowest levels of administration in the States, decentralisation has its perils.

Similarly privatisation raises the cost of education, and will make parents who are already reluctant to educate daughters think twice about sending them to private schools.

Education Warping Students' Minds

By SUNIL DUTT GAUR

ONE may find it difficult to believe that in any classroom below graduate level, more than 70 per cent of those present are absent mentally. But that is a fact. After interviewing a significant number of students, it was found that, even at college level, "mental absenteeism" in class is very common. It is so frequent, especially upto graduate classes, that not only are money and time spent in vain, but the output from education is also far below expectations, at least in non-professional courses. Today, the majority of graduates are full of frustration, anger, anxiety and other nervous problems. Their elders usually complain that they lack moral and ethical values. Should we be content if this is the net result of giving young people 15 years of education?

Quite often in a history class, there are many names and dates that need to be memorised. However, students repeatedly look at their watches. You may find a teacher of English enjoying a poem while the class is asleep. In other classes, some students may prefer to draw funny portraits of their teacher or some other figure. Such instances illustrate mental absenteeism.

Data collected from 153, college students in various non-technical disciplines revealed that: 62 per cent, at the beginning of the lecture, were motivated and listened to it, but after ten to 15 minutes, they lost interest; 14 per cent felt that, often, they did not even know the topic that the teacher was supposed to be teaching and they never listened to him. These students usually fell short of attendance requirements in the teacher's register; 24 per cent of the students reported that they listened to the lectures throughout the lesson.

Mentally Absent

These observations are based on reports of arts students (B.A. pass and honours courses). Why are they mentally absent? Further probing yielded the following important observations: a. Need and ambition are important determinants of student performance in the classroom; b. the student's family background is closely related to his mental state in the classroom; c. the more students perceive academic activity to be of use in the attainment of their goals, the more serious they are in class; d. students tend to miss classes where the teacher practises one-way communication or lacks humour.

How much do attending classes and reading books help in achieving one's goals in life? Most students feel that even if they get first-class marks, it is not necessarily going to

pattern after school. Inquisitiveness is weakened and there is a mechanical attitude towards lectures. A complete change in teaching at school level is necessary if higher education instruction is to improve.

At college, but more especially at school, very few students are aware of their aptitudes and interests. Most of them let things happen to them as they come. On the other hand, some parents force their will on their children in order to fulfil the dreams that did not come true in their own lives. To help students, the government has provided schools with counsellors. However, we should not forget that they are products of the same system. Moreover, each counsellor is attached to many schools with the result that he or she has no time to help students individually. Few schools have proper facilities for aptitude testing. If we want to improve higher education, we must be able to assess the aptitudes and interests of students after they finish compulsory subjects and help them to choose wisely at the plus-two stage.

Delinking Degrees

Delinking degrees from jobs will definitely improve higher education as most students come to college only to get a degree and not to learn and grow mentally. Young men, of course, want degrees to get jobs, while many young women want degrees in the hope of landing a better groom. So delinking degrees is not sufficient, public attitudes must also be changed. The rat-race to get degrees must be stopped and only carefully selected students should be admitted into universities.

The quality of university teachers also ought to be raised. The brightness of a teacher is not solely reflected in his academic record or the number of publications to his credit. In fact, the stipulation of a Ph.D. degree for promotions to certain positions has already caused much harm. Ironically, in a way, there is a race for these degrees for the sake of getting university jobs. The brightness of a teacher is reflected in both his knowledge and his communication skills. When teachers are appointed, hardly any weightage is given to the latter, which is perhaps the most essential element of good teaching.

Teacher dissatisfaction is directly responsible for the deteriorating environment in education. The salaries and facilities provided are ridiculous. That is why good students try to get private-sector jobs or go into the upper reaches of the central services. What can be expected of a teacher who has to

give them a good job or happiness in life. Becoming a graduate does not lead them anywhere but in the lurch. So, an average student does not know what his goals are. He becomes a fatalist. Millions of students are expected to study hard and prove their worth without their being any the wiser about where they will end up.

One major problem is that, in most cases, lectures are in the form of All India Radio news bulletins. The teacher talks and the students listen. Even if the teacher makes an effort to get his students to participate, he is usually not successful at the beginning. This is because many school teachers use one-way communication. They do not create the rapport necessary for the free expression of their views by students. This results in a kind of fixed student behaviour

DTC bus just before he has to deliver his lecture? What nation-building can be expected from those who can never build their houses to live in? This is why today even teachers are found with banners in their hand and slogans in their mouths.

The national education policy ("Challenge Of Education", 1985, page 32) says: "...Teachers must thus be accorded an honoured place in society. Their emoluments and other service conditions should be adequate and satisfactory, having regard to their qualifications and responsibility...". But there is a wide gap between policy and reality. Using good adjectives does not make good policy. Soon, we will have a drought in education that does not kill people but their minds.

Privatisation of higher education

By J. D. SETHI

WITHOUT introducing the principle of privatisation in higher education, there is no way of either equalising opportunities or distributing the cost of education on an equitable basis unless there is a radical change in the prevailing structure of incomes. Therefore, before any genuine or pseudo radical jumps for his gun at the mention of privatisation, he better read the whole article. Incidentally, only last week Communist China announced the setting up of private colleges for the well-off.

The principle of equity in education can take many forms and one has to choose the one which is related to the context. The Indian context is that under the pretence and trappings of state responsibility for education, the poor are made to pay for the education of the children of the rich and English-language educated middle classes. Ironically, attempts to improve the quality of education and impart excellence accentuate this inequity.

Despite the enormous powers concentrated in the hands of the Government, it cannot oblige the rich to accept the principle of full-cost pricing of education. For the rest, the system is a planned deprivation.

Two streams

There are two streams of school education, private and state-financed, but a single stream of almost entirely state-financed higher education. The best available school education is imparted through the English medium in private schools (very strangely called public schools) to those who pay for it, i.e. the upper classes. This is the first stream. The others' education is worse than a trivial metaphor. When they go to the college, both pay the same fees, which is about Rs 15 to Rs 20 per month and have remained unchanged for four decades and which at today's prices would be Rs 150 to Rs 200 per month. Besides, through competition, the first stream students get into elite colleges and the rest join colleges that turn out lumpens.

Some scholars defend the continuation instead of scrapping of colleges which are unviable and provide indifferent education, on the ground that they absorb volatile youth by letting them hang around these colleges instead of blowing up society. But the products of these institutions are swelling the ranks of the unemployed, the lumpens and the criminals. This is a clear call for the lumpenisation of education and ultimately national suicide.

If it is politically not feasible to introduce the principle of full-cost pricing of education through raising fees to a very high level, and since the Government has no more resources to spare for everybody, not to speak of the poor, then equity demands that the Government should hand over larger parts of higher education to market forces while keeping with itself the control on objectives, policies, and standards and the responsibility for financing the education of the poor. Since the change has to be gradual in order to become politically absorbable, some fees may be increased. The money thus saved can be used to subsidise the education of the poor in two ways: by giving generous scholarships to the bright, and by imparting a more relevant education to the rest by creating an entirely new stream of education.

The first exercise can be a variation of direct full-cost pricing of professional education for which the maximum demand comes from the upper classes. For instance, medical and engineering colleges and universities should be allowed to fix a certain number of seats on the basis of the capitation fee which should at least be enough to meet three-fourths of the expenses. At least half the seats should be filled in this way. Twentyfive per cent should be filled through open competition, the rest being reserved for the economically weak and socially backward. In other words, professional colleges should have three categories of entrants. There should be a bottom line for standards for all.

The money recovered through capitation fees as well as higher fees in general will be used not for reducing governmental expenditure on education but for expanding it and for subsidising the needy. The critical principle is that near-full-cost pricing for the upper classes and a subsidised rate for others will be so arranged as to clear the market.

Demand and supply

However, for medical, engineering, management education etc gap between demand and supply may still remain for at least two reasons. Because of the great allure of going abroad, there will always be an additional demand on the resources of the country. Second, the institutions for higher professional courses turn out highly qualified people even for jobs in which such a high qualification is not necessary.

The answer for the first lies in making it legally obligatory for every emigrant to pay the full amount the Government has spent on his education. The charge

may be doubled because not only should the potential emigrant pay for his education but also compensate for having deprived another student of a similar educational facility. The Soviet Union applies this rule to emigrants.

The answer to the second problem is no less demanding. The common answer given is to delink degrees from jobs. This would be the most stupid thing to do. For checking the downgrading of the market value of degrees the real answer lies in expanding professional courses of intermediate level for which there is a massive need in this country. For instance, for 90 per cent of all diseases a barefoot doctor or at best a short-course doctor is good enough as during the British days. There is no need to have a highly qualified doctor who refuses to go to rural areas to give pills for malaria or diarrhoea. With a proper referral system, a larger part of medical education can be concentrated on the intermediate level and on paramedics. We need no more than 10 to 15 per cent of the highly qualified force of doctors that come out of medical colleges, as against the need for a million paramedics.

Employment needs

The same is true of technical education. The country is starved of the low and middle level engineers and trained mechanics while highly-trained engineers are either taking up low-level jobs or emigrating. If the aim is full employment, largely based on self-employment, a massive expansion of technical education will be needed at intermediate levels. On the other hand, the principle of full-cost pricing can be introduced in IITs. Alternatively, these should be privatised with reservations and subsidies provided for the poor.

The capitation fee system is the only right via media for the present. Those who insist on banning it in favour of the present system are really asking the poor to keep paying for the education of the rich. Nothing could be more immoral than the prevailing system.

Snipped by necessity, already various channels of privatisation have opened and everyone, including the UGC and the Government, seem to be turning a blind eye to these because the channels are serving a useful purpose. They are indeed becoming an alternative educational system on their own. In cities and towns, big and small, thousands of teaching shops are promoted to cater to the needs of a variety of people, including those who go for higher competitive examinations. These teaching shops

provide a better education than the second stream formal system and are thus increasingly forcing upon the society the principle of privatisation.

It is an eloquent and damaging commentary on the official system that lower middle class and even some poor children should get education at a much higher price. Unless an alternative system is available, these teaching shops will multiply. The alternative is to make privatisation more formal, more legal and better structured.

Biggest culprit

Next to Government, the biggest culprit is organised industry which pays practically nothing for the education of the highly qualified technical personnel that it gets so cheaply. The argument that it pays taxes is irrelevant because the revenues from those taxes need not have been spent on education. Right at the time of Independence, we should have learnt from Japan as to how industry can be sensitised to its obligation towards society which provides inputs in the form of trained manpower.

Four decades ago, Mahatma Gandhi, who gave us the most revolutionary principles of education, insisted on self-financed education for a host of reasons. Two deserve special mention, namely, the constraint of resources which we are late in recognising, and the moral as against the political responsibility for ensuring good education. Gandhiji wrote: "If the State has to bear the cost of education of millions of children, it will never be able to raise enough money by any conceivable measure of taxation. That it is the primary duty of the State to bring to its schools every boy and girl and give them proper, not perfunctory (as now) education is an axiomatic truth. But in a country like India such education must largely, if not wholly, pay for itself."

He added, "Even if we have crores of rupees, it is impossible to impart education in India in this way. Education should pay for itself. That is, we should not have to spend any money on it. If we are successful in doing this, we will be able to achieve two things. Firstly, we shall save money and secondly, we shall impart true education. The education given to our boys and girls today makes them unmindful of their morals, unhealthy and restless, whereas by making education self-sustaining we will be making them mentally poised and morally excellent."

Can any radical, genuine or pseudo, suggest something better?

A price tag on education

HIGHER education in ancient India was self-sufficient. Forest institutions popularly called *gurukulas* had large farms attached to the green campus and generated substantial revenue. The medical university of Taxila had a big hospital attached to the campus. The universities of Ujjain, Vallabhi and Vikramasila also generated their own revenues. The university of Nalanda was self-financed, a large mango grove and agricultural farms being attached to it. There was no tuition or hostel fee, but each student had to do compulsory extension work. These universities were residential and fully autonomous. According to Hsien Tsang, who visited Nalanda University in the 7th century A.D. there was not a single strike by the students in the university in its history of 700 years. The wandering scholars of ancient India exercised a great moral influence on society and led the people in difficult times.

The tradition was kept up in medieval times by the *maktaba* and *madrasas* who rarely accepted grants from the Government, and were run by public donations and their own revenues. The red-brick universities established by the Britishers changed the concept and the character of higher education in India. They levied fees of all

Is it fair to seek foreign assistance for primary education and finance university education with public funds, asks K. K. Khullar

kinds and made higher education inaccessible to the poor and the common man. Till the partition of India, 20 per cent of the expenditure on higher education was realised through fees.

There has been no revision of fee structure in Indian universities in the last 45 years. The result is that no university in India today can survive without Government aid. The scholars of modern India have had no impact on the social life of the people and have no moral authority. Instead of leading the nation they are led by others.

Today there are 198 universities in India, including 10 Central universities and 36 deemed varsities, which together cater to an enrolment of 50.07 lakh students of which 16.64 lakh are girl students. Four more Central universities are being established. The number of teachers has risen to 2.86 lakh, which means that there is a teacher for every 17 to 18 students. No norms have been fixed for teacher-pupil ratio. In the three universities of the capital city of Delhi, while in JNU it is 1:10, in Jamia it is 1:19 and in the University of De-

lhi, with its 76 colleges, it is even higher. The total strength of students in Delhi University is 2,07,000 students (out of this figure 1,20,000 are regular students), while the number of teachers is 740. The Punnayya Committee Report (1993) on UGC Funding of Institutions of Higher Education has recommended that 'the ideal average teacher to student ratio (including all disciplines) should be 1:12. Similarly, there are marked variations in the ratio of teaching to non-teaching staff. The Punnayya Committee has recommended a ratio of 1:3. It has also recommended a 40 hour work-load per week for the teachers. This recommendation has, however, not been enforced.

At present the tuition fees account for only 2 to 3 per cent of the total expenditure on higher education. The committee is of the view that 15 per cent of the university's expenditure should be generated by the varsity itself at the end of five years, and at least 25 per cent at the end of 10 years. Each university may, therefore,

draw up specific plan and modalities in this regard. Apart from tuition fees, charges such as library fee, laboratory fee and sports fee must also be revised upwards to recover a significant part of recurring costs. College and university fees in India are among the lowest in the world. Besides, expansion has not been balanced with quality.

The funding pattern of universities also needs to undergo a change. Funding should be with reference to the objectives of the universities and not uniformly. For example, a Central university standing for an all-India outlook should promote national integration and not duplicate the work of a State university. It should offer courses which are not available in the State university. It should specifically cater to the educationally backward sections and areas. In actual practice a university is called a Central university because it is financed by the Central Government through the UGC.

Whether performance has anything to do with the budget is another ponderable. And the rationale behind seeking foreign assistance for primary education and financing higher education with public funds. To say the least these should only be resorted to if absolutely necessary.

Funding education

By Hardwari Lal

S EARCH for resources needed for financing higher education continues to be the subject of keen discussion in university campuses. A national seminar was recently organised in this connection at Delhi University by All India Research Scientists Association (AIRSA). The highlights of the seminar were the observations made by the UGC's chief, the new Vice-Chancellor of the university and the university teachers' representative.

The UGC chief struck the right note when she told the teachers not to forget that the Government is just a body representing tax-payers, and unless there is quality in teaching the tax-payer would not be disposed to pay for it. Endorsing her warning, the Vice-Chancellor added that the generation of resources "must go hand in hand with the maintenance of high standards of education." As usual, the representative of the teachers castigated the Government for washing its hands off higher education as a part of its overall policy of "privatisation". There were others who spoke in the same strain. Unfortunately, the suggestion that educational standards must register improvement got drowned in the denunciation of the Government for its supposed indifference to higher education. Incidentally, Dr Upendra Baxi left the Delhi University some time ago apparently in protest against the UGC's "grant freeze". But those close to him know that an important reason of his exit from the university was the wrong attitude of teachers towards their responsibilities.

Responsibility

The word "privatisation" used in connection with higher education has lent an edge to the criticism that the Government is shirking its responsibility of financing higher education. It is to be regretted that soon after taking over, the new HRD Minister used the expression without appreciating, at the same time, the role of private agencies in the field of higher education in the past and spoke as if he was announcing a new policy of privatising higher education. This is being blown by certain sections out of all proportion.

There is indeed nothing new or peculiar about private agencies taking a hand in higher education. Even in UK to which

we continued to look for inspiration, pioneering institutions of higher learning, Oxford and Cambridge have always welcomed private benefactions. It was only during the twenties of this century that a regular system of governmental grants to universities was evolved with the creation of the University Grants Committee. USA's leading university, Harvard to which state-funded universities of USA look for inspiration and guidance has been sustained and fostered by private munificence, from the very beginning. And Harvard is not the only university subsisting on private munificence in America. In India also, higher education has owed a great deal to private effort during the last hundred years.

Missions' role

Colleges founded and funded wholly by Christian missions have rendered yeoman's service to the cause of higher education in the country. They began to get governmental aid only after the establishment of the University Grants Commission in mid-fifties. Indigenous societies like the Deccan Education Society, DAV Society, Sanatan Dharam Sabha, and philanthropists like S. Dayal Singh Majithia have also done a lot in the field of higher education. The fact is that until a few decades ago, private and denominational colleges greatly outnumbered government colleges, in the country. Take the case of Delhi itself. Until early '30s, the capital had a few colleges, not depending on governmental grants. This was the situation in most metropolitan cities. Even in the field of science and technology universities like the Benaras Hindu University, created and funded by princely donations, gave a lead to governmental institutions. To cavil at "privatisation" of higher education betrays ignorance of the history of development of higher education in the country.

It is true, that institutions of higher learning have multiplied greatly since the British withdrawal and they cannot be maintained without governmental assistance in the matter of funds. The Constitution which set Independent India on the course of governance said (Art 41) that "the State shall within the limit of its economic capacity (emphasis supplied) and development make effective provision to secure the right... to education...." In compliance with this

constitutional directive, the Union Government was quick to set up that UGC through which Central grants for the development of universities came to be distributed. In addition to this, the maintenance of central universities and their constituent institutions has gradually become the exclusive concern of the UGC. Unfortunately, a judgment of a two-judge bench of the apex court raised undue expectations of many in academic circles, by observing in the capitation fee case that it is the fundamental right of every citizen to have education of his/her own choice. This view of the matter is calculated to put on the Government a financial burden which, as things are, it cannot possibly bear. Luckily, a larger bench of the apex court subsequently refined this judgment by taking due note of ground realities.

A factor which has aggravated the resource crunch in relation to institutions of higher learning, a factor which is being lost sight of in all quarters, is unplanned proliferation of institutions of higher education in Independent India. The number of universities and deemed universities has increased ten-fold since 1947. As to colleges, the number runs into thousands against a few hundred colleges in 1947. We take pride at this development. Actually, there are numerous universities and countless colleges which deserve to be closed down. In any case, as things are, the resources which the Government spares for higher education are getting thinly spread to the disadvantage of universities which have real potential for multi-directional development.

New sources

The crux of the matter is that in the situation which exists, it has become necessary for the universities to look for sources other than the Government, whence funds can be secured. Hence the call to universities to generate resources through their own efforts. The Government is certainly trying to make things easier for them, in this connection. For example, industrialists and businessmen making donations to the universities have been exempted from income-tax liability to the extent of the donations they make. But to get the affirmative support of industries, universities must summon strength to produce research for the benefit of industries. Here lies the rub. Indian universities are not equal to the demands of

industries. Exceptions apart, research in Indian universities is either fake or merely repetitive, the kind of research for which hard-headed industrialists are not ready to pay!

There is the suggestion that the products of the country's institutions going abroad in search of greener pastures must be taxed. It is a fact that India is educating and training a very large number of persons who go out and use their knowledge for the benefit of countries of their permanent or temporary adoption. This brain drain needs to be turned to good account. Also, Indian universities, like their American counterparts, must remain in touch with their alumni and tackle them for financial contributions. It is worthy of note that in some American universities, the Vice-Chancellor's job is not academic, but fundraising. In the fifties, a well known American university was able to secure the patronage, even of General Eisenhower (the future Reublican President) by having him as its vice-chancellor.

Standards

But generation of resources by universities must go hand in hand with the improvement of academic standards. The methods adopted by Haryana's two universities to augment their resources must not be emulated. In the name of "distant education" they are pretending to train school teachers through their correspondence courses. One of these universities has now announced a scheme called "BA in one go". They are not realising that in order to build up their funds they are doing a great disservice to school education and ultimately to higher education, for training of teachers is something which needs constant contact and interaction between the trainees and those posted to train them. Incidentally, even the half a dozen open universities in the field have flopped for various reasons. Distance education is a matter not only of adequate equipment but of great diligence, both absent from our open universities. To talk of making a success of the programme of teachers training through correspondence is to cheat the unwary. Let vice-chancellors not become crafty shopkeepers and sell their inferior wares with the help of good write-ups in the Press by obliging correspondents.

Further damage to teacher training

By KRISHNA KUMAR

JUST when the Government appears to be keen to improve the state of teacher training, the University Grants Commission is considering a demand that would do lasting damage to teacher training across the country. The demand relates to the qualifications required for faculty positions in institutes and departments of education. So far, the UGC has treated 'education' like any other discipline in the matter of selection of new teaching staff. It is now being urged to treat 'education' as a special kind of discipline, and lay down special qualifications for recruitment of teaching positions in departments of education. The 'special qualifications' that the UGC is being persuaded to introduce are of the kind that school teachers are presently required to possess, such as B.Ed. and M.Ed. The plea is that those who want to teach future teachers should themselves have the degrees that schools demand from teachers. It looks like an innocuous demand, but if this demand does get the approval of the UGC, it will have disastrous implications for the future of teacher education.

UGC thinking

The UGC must take cognizance of the inert character of teacher training before it quietly decides to make hasty changes in the recruitment policy for departments of education and universities. The inertia can largely be attributed to the self-perpetuating nature of Bachelor's and Master's degree courses in education. These courses supply not only the bulk of our secondary teachers but also the majority of the faculty of training institutions. Should these courses be made compulsory requirement for recruitment to education departments, all possibilities of fresh talent coming into these departments will end. Fresh talent is available—admittedly not in large numbers—in other departments within the universities and in voluntary institutions. We need to encourage this talent to join institutions of teacher education and intercept the cycle of reproduction in which these institutions are caught. Obviously, there will be a lot of resistance to such a move. The demand which the UGC is considering is itself an example of the resistance which certain conservative teacher educators have been able to mobilise. If teacher education becomes dynamic, who will safeguard their monopoly over pedagogical knowledge?

The Education Commission said 20 years ago: "By and large, training institutions for primary and secondary teachers have remained isolated from the mainstream of the academic life of the university, as well as from the daily problems of schools... Our first suggestion is that education should be brought into the mainstream of the academic life of the universities. "Noting that 'education' is often regarded as pedagogy in

for actual conditions of schools or the expectations of students. As soon as they finish their training, they cast off all their model behaviours and get down to the business of teaching in the way their own teachers had taught them many years ago and they see their older colleagues teaching now. They feel no pangs of conscience as they stoop to teaching from the textbook and strictly for the examination because they knew all along that the assiduous skill-learning of their training period had no relation to real teaching.

Teacher training is supposed to bring about change and innovation in school education. In its present form, however, it acts as a major agency discouraging change. One can cite ample evidence to say that forces of change in education that are active today are all outside training institutions and are struggling against the negative influence of these institutions. No example shows this in sharper relief than that of Kishore Bharati which had to struggle against established training institutions and their wizards of pedagogy every inch of its way to success in improving science education in village schools. The members of the Child Education and Development Centre of Bombay find that pre-service training of teachers causes serious mental blocks and prejudices against innovation.

If the UGC entertains the demand to change eligibility requirements for education departments, not only will this deprive education of the expertise produced by voluntary institutions, but more than that, academic scholars coming to education from areas like sociology, psychology, and communication will be denied the opportunity to make their contribution to teacher training. Such scholars are already being produced by several institutions, for example, the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies (of the Jawaharlal Nehru University) which is not even recognised by many education departments! This ridiculous situation will be exacerbated when education departments begin rejecting candidates with doctoral degrees in education who don't hold a B.Ed. Such are the implications of the demand that the UGC is now considering.

Best course

The best course for the UGC to follow would be to leave the recruitment policy for education departments as it is, and at the same time launch a programme to involve teachers and scholars of other disciplines in the task of reorienting education. If the UGC accepts the view taken by the Education Commission, that teacher education suffers from isolation, then the right thing for the UGC to do would be to build bridges between education and other disciplines rather than to make such bridging impossible. By allowing such linkages to develop, the UGC will eventually widen the intellectual horizon of teacher education. It may merely serve the ma-

our country, the Commission had recommended its development as a social science, as in the developed countries. The fact is that even pedagogy ceased long ago to be regarded in other parts of the world as simply a practical art and no more. No, particularly since the work of Bernstein, Bourdieu, and Freire, the interlinks between pedagogical styles and the broader socio-economic system have been well understood. It is expected in all respectable Western institutes of education that teacher trainees will be aware of their role in the broader social context.

In our country pedagogy is regarded as a credit which staff members of training institutions make every attempt to mystify. Dissociated from both social and humanistic concerns of education, pedagogy is laboriously taught as a pool of postures and gimmicks. In the practice lessons that trainees are required to teach, they are expected to show that they will always remember to stand, walk, sit, hold chalk and write on the blackboard in the "approved" manner, even if they know or care little about the validity of the knowledge they are imparting or about children's varying responses to this knowledge. Indeed, the training of teaching skills is no different at present from a mill reproducing a cardboard model. The trainees know that their skills have no relevance

zones of teacher trainees. What the trainees require is a wide-ranging exposure to ideas and research pertaining to education and children, and the freedom and capacity to develop their own, locally effective strategies of communication. More than anything else, they deserve to be taught by the best available scholarship in the country rather than by an inbred clan.

The other crying need is to integrate elementary teachers' training with that of secondary teachers under a new comprehensive programme. The delinking of the two is a legacy of the Victorian era, and it has fostered a pernicious hierarchy within the teaching profession. Indeed, much of the pedagogical knowledge imparted in our elementary training institutions (run by the Government or privately) is itself Victorian. Few people working there are familiar with the new research on education or have even heard of the work of Ashton-Warner, John Holt, or Sudhir Kakar.

The primary need today is to make education at all levels child-centred. This goal cannot be achieved without letting fresh winds blow through our mausoleums of teacher training. This is why the demand for a closed-door employment policy for departments of education in universities must be summarily rejected.

Education system outdated, says PM

Express News Service

SHANTINIKETAN, Dec 6.

If India was to be taken to the 21st century, the proposed new education policy for the country should be aimed towards the growth of a balanced human personality based on equal development of science and technology on one hand and that of spirituality, religion and culture on the other.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi was delivering his address at the Viswa Bharati convocation held here on Friday. Mr Gandhi, the chancellor of the university, which was founded by Rabindra Nath Thakur, lamented that students in modern India were not eager to face the problems ahead of them, but preferred to go in for white-collar jobs and comfort, a trend that would retard the progress of the country.

He lashed out at the existing educa-

tion system, a colonial heritage that could at best produce clerks but not true Indians. He also criticised the examination system saying that it was based on memorising and not on proper absorption of knowledge.

Mr Gandhi said as a developing nation with the challenge of the 21st century in front of it, India needed inquiring minds with deep sensibility and that was why one must turn to Viswa Bharati as a model institution where Rabindra Nath wanted to blend spirituality of classical India with a pursuit for science and technology.

Considering the fact that a consumerist culture had been thrust upon the Indian people, such a combination of the old and new would provide an inner strength, Mr Gandhi said.

UNI adds: Mr Gandhi said the government had made a massive investment in education, but its results were not satisfactory. "The perception of a young generation must be redrawn", he added.

Echoing the basic contention of Mr Gandhi, the vice-chancellor, Dr Nemaisadhan Bose, said for a model university Viswa Bharati could still give the lead. However, the university had many problems, the most difficult of which was inadequate resources. He said Mr Gandhi was aware of the paucity of fund and other constraints and insisted for a master plan.

Before leaving for Guwahati, at a hurriedly convened press conference, Mr Gandhi said the relationship between India and Pakistan had not suffered any setback in recent times either because of exchange of fire in the forward areas or any other reasons, it had just slowed down.

Mr Gandhi said, president Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan would come to New Delhi on December 17. He, however, had no immediate plan to visit that country. Answering a question, he said the SAARC was not for any bilateral discussion between any two particular countries, but for all the seven participant countries of South Asia.

Language sensitivities

THE episode of the issue and withdrawal of the Home Ministry circular that linked continuance of Central aid to autonomous bodies with their success in switching to Hindi was avoidable and has left its lessons. One is that more people at the Centre, politicians and bureaucrats alike, should realise that Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and other Indian languages are also, like Hindi, national assets, and that their growth, like Hindi's, enriches the nation as a whole. Institutions and societies receiving Central funds merit a continuance of assistance if their work is useful and if their intercourse with the public is getting closer. Whether this intercourse is in Kannada, Tamil or Hindi is surely of secondary importance except when, as has at times happened, a sudden switch to Hindi hinders communication. The notion that Central funds can only support Hindi but not the nation's other languages betrays a simplistic view of what is and is not Indian wealth and also, incidentally, of how Central finances are raised.

Language remains a sensitive issue, as a glance at TV and radio will show. Doordarshan's Madras Kendra does not relay the nightly Hindi news (the slot is filled by news in Tamil). And on Sunday evenings, when other kendras show the weekly Hindi film, the Madras Kendra broadcasts one in Tamil. (But Madras viewers can see the Hindi movie on a subsequent Saturday). Of course, it is wrong to imagine that one language can grow only at another's expense. A wider and more efficient outreach has to be the aim, not the "promotion" of one language or another, which is often counter-productive anyway. Everyone will be catered to when enough sound and picture channels become available. Better dubbing and sub-titling techniques will also greatly help, though they will call for high-quality translators. One wonders whether AIR and Doordarshan are doing enough to attract fluently bi-lingual persons.

Meanwhile, Madras-based film producers continue to make Hindi movies. And all can act on the truth that the influence of a language depends not so much on channels or barriers that governments create but on the skill with which it is taught, the quality of the works written in it, and on how tolerant its custodians are towards improvisation and "foreign" words. The Hindi now heard on radio and TV and in the cinema is less "pure" and more hospitable than it once was to words of English and Persian origin. Therefore it is not only more lively but also more secure. This significant development is one that those fond of Hindi should not forget. It is also one that those devoted to other languages should take note of.

The New Education System

An Exercise in Evasion

By S. P. JAIN

THE state of education in our country derives largely from its constant interaction with the state of our society; and so does its quality. Instead of facing this fact squarely, the status paper called "Challenge Of Education" tends to skirt around it. Now and then, of course, it tosses up ideas about the "commitment of society" as a pre-condition for the success of any education system, or about the role of education in ushering in "social change and development". But it falls short of integrating these ideas with its recommendations on the future course of education.

Among its numerous objectives, the one the document states most emphatically is the universalisation of primary education by the year 1990. It figures out that of the 64 million children who will fall in the 6-11 age-group during the coming five years, not more than 25 million can be given school education with the existing facilities. The remaining 39 million, therefore, will be offered non-formal education largely with the use of the network of television and radio sets. Also, since the existing relay stations and channels of the official media cannot meet the needs of 39 million non-formal pupils spread all over the country, substantial financial resources will be harnessed to augment these facilities. The strategy is ingenious, even commendable if only it can deliver the goods in our social milieu.

Many educational planners do not find non-formal education "a viable alternative to school education". The document itself acknowledges that there exists no means of knowing "the effectiveness of non-formal education". In the absence of any system of monitoring and evaluating the success of this mode of education, are we in a position to gamble a sizeable chunk of our scant education budget, a measly 3 per cent of the gross national product (the Education Commission had recommended a 6 per cent allocation 20 years ago), on schemes of unproven merit and uncertain promise? And shall it be the wisest thing to do, especially when the country's primary schools are famishing for want of adequate financial support?

Inadequate Facilities

As of now, 40 per cent of these function without buildings or blackboards, 55 per cent without playgrounds, 60 per cent without drinking water, and 70 per cent without any kind of library facility. Also, over two lakh schools make do with a single teacher for engaging 3 to 4 different classes, and about the same number of our villages (one-fifth of their total number) are still without any school!

More revealing, however, is the fact that the dismal conditions obtaining in most of these primary schools are not the main reasons why children opt out or drop out. As a number of studies conducted by the ministry of education indicate, the main reason is the staggering poverty of their families. It invariably compels them to do sundry jobs for bare survival. It also seems sensible to surmise that the scourge of poverty would also deprive them of watching the T.V. or listening to

the radio. What is more, whereas the drop-out rate of schoolgoing children happens to be above 70 per cent, there shall be no knowing of it in non-formal education system. Shall the educational planners then clear their conscience by telling themselves that the facilities were provided, irrespective of whether these could be made use of or not? In that case, who should we be fooling but ourselves by assuming that the universalisation of primary education stands achieved?

Indeed, it should be more pragmatic to reorient the primary school education itself on priority basis, with the specific objective of relating it to the different needs of the children from different regions and of improving its quality; and to initiate non-formal education guardedly and in a phased manner. Universalisation of primary education has to go slow as long as 40 per cent of the country's population subsists below the poverty line.

At the level of secondary education, the social context has again been given a short shrift. The proposal to set up "model schools" in every district of the country is a case in point. The former education minister, Mr K. C. Pant, has eulogized these schools as "a Doon School in every district"; but this big leap from one Doon School in the whole country (neither set up nor run by the government, though!) to a Doon School in every district seems too ambitious to achieve.

Public Schools

Of course, the best of public schools impart individualised education, offer excellent co-curricular facilities, and instil a sense of self-confidence and perspective in their pupils. But it takes not only generous funding and sound planning but decades of committed teaching and competent administration before some schools earn such a stature. They are few and far between, and take time to come of age. Has the present scheme, devised to launch a thousand Doon Schools within the seventh Plan period, ascertained that a correspondingly large number of persons competent to handle the job is available? And what about the inner reserves and resilience which grow in such institutions only with time, and which alone help them to withstand the oppressive pulls and pressures of our body politic?

In the event, the scheme may succeed in setting up a chain of schools with all the trappings of public school education but without much of its substance and quality. Indeed, these institutions, like a large number of so-called public schools (euphemism for commercial ventures) may merely serve the cause of unhealthy elitism and snobbery.

The coarse and vainglorious subculture of this variety of public school education reflects, as the status paper also notes, in its blissful neglect of our "national heritage", let alone any sense of "legitimate pride" in it. Often enough it betrays utter insensitivity towards the present poverty and squalor in the country. Indeed, a good number of the products of such education acquire merely the skills of manipulation

and manoeuvres in the name of learning the virtues of leadership and initiative. Such ideas sidetrack the real challenge which lies in improving and vitalizing the government-run and aided schools. After all, despite our having several I.I.T.s, reputed medical institutes, and prestigious colleges — all model institutions — the educational standards are dismal today because the standards in the majority of educational institutions are dismal.

One peculiar problem to which the document could pay serious attention is posed by the brain-drain from the country. After successfully graduating in medicine or engineering, architecture or management, and such other coveted courses, a large number of these qualified people try hard to settle abroad. It is not that opportunities are bleak for them in the country, it is that these are not as rosy as in the west.

Country Cheated

In the event, a quarter of the 20,000 doctors produced every year and a sizeable number of others emigrate from the country. Thus the country is cheated of its precious human resources and of the huge sums of money spent on their training. On an average, it spends Rs. 3,00,000 on the education of a doctor and Rs. 2,00,000 on that of an engineer. Also, larger share (82 per cent) of this money comes from indirect taxes the incidence of which falls heavily on the poor. The least the policy-makers could do in the matter was to recommend effective legislation for recovering the cost incurred on training such individuals before permitting their emigration.

The bane of higher education today, more than most other things, is the high degree of its politicization. The unscrupulous politicians who make little difference between favouring someone with a permit or a teaching position, the self-seeking bureaucrats and educational administrators who perpetually keep building bridges with the politicians in power, the teacher-politicians who turn oblivious of their commitment to classroom, the militant students who keep mouthing the briefs given by their political mentors are different facets of this malady. It is painfully ironic that these wide-ranging indulgences in blatant self-aggrandizement often frustrate the genuine efforts of their well-intentioned counterparts who have so far saved the system from collapsing altogether.

What compounds this irony is the fact that the poor largely foot the bill for such sickening goings-on in the name of higher education even as hardly one per cent of their children in the relevant age-group avail of the facility. In any case, the malaise of the politicization of higher education can only be rooted out if confronted at its sharpest cutting edge. All political parties must be forced if they cannot be persuaded to stay their hand; and the ruling party has to take the initiative for doing so. "Radical change" in education system, so anxiously aimed at in the document, entails determined measures.

Paper stresses steps on education system

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug. 21.

With education having become a concurrent subject (both in the central and state list), it is time for the Central Government to take steps to influence effectively the national system of education, says a policy paper circulated by the Union Education Ministry for discussion.

The Government will have to consider how it should prepare itself to work with the states for raising the efficiency of the educational process, enforcing faithful adherence to schedules for teaching and examination and providing minimum facilities in schools and the required orientation in teachers' training programmes.

In respect of the three-language formula, the Central Government has not been able to ensure its faithful implementation. It is vital to ensure that language did not become a barrier to mobility in the India of tomorrow, the paper says.

There is considerable uncertainty about whether or not it is necessary for an educational institution to obtain permission or register itself with the state or the Central Government. As for private schools, there is a provision to control the cost, quality or orientation of education. Even the question of safety of

children cannot be enforced.

The paper has also highlighted the problem of the so-called "English medium schools" which attract gullible parents, because government or municipal schools are so unattractive. This issue also needed careful deliberation.

Though there has been some demands for a legal framework for establishing a uniform national core curriculum throughout the country, interaction among educational experts and the Central Government, has obviated the necessity for a law on the subject.

The management of the university, it is agreed, has become quite out of tune with its size and times. Whether the Central Government should assume more powers for depoliticisation and modernisation of the management system of universities will have to be decided after consultations and discussions, according to the paper.

Basic reforms in education mooted

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 20.

Fundamental and far-reaching reforms in the present elementary, secondary college and university education system are proposed in a policy approach document presented before the Parliament on Tuesday. Modifications in the present 10+2+3 system with vocationalisation starting from Class VI, delinking of jobs from degrees, aptitude tests for entry into colleges and universities, de-affiliation of colleges to promote autonomous institutions, replacing the present system of annual examination by an evaluation system, are some of the major changes that are proposed in the policy perspective documents.

The two-volume document on the new education policy was presented before the Parliament by the Union Education Minister, Mr K. C. Pant, who in his foreword note said that the document was not meant to be a final

statement of policy but was intended to provide the basis for a nation-wide debate.

The policy document also hints at constitutional changes for establishing a uniform core curriculum throughout the country and also for vesting in the Central Government more powers for "depoliticisation and modernisation" of the universities.

✓ To overcome the financial constraints the higher education institutions may be permitted to charge fees on cost basis with scholarships provided to the meritorious and needy students. Central assistance to universities is proposed only for purposes of research.

✓ A code of conduct for teachers with an intensive training programme along with improvement in their service conditions, is another aspect that is proposed for active consideration.

Till the new system takes shape, a moratorium has also been proposed on the expansion of the traditional pattern

of colleges and opening of only those colleges which have a vocational character and are linked with multi-disciplinary tasks are only to be favoured.

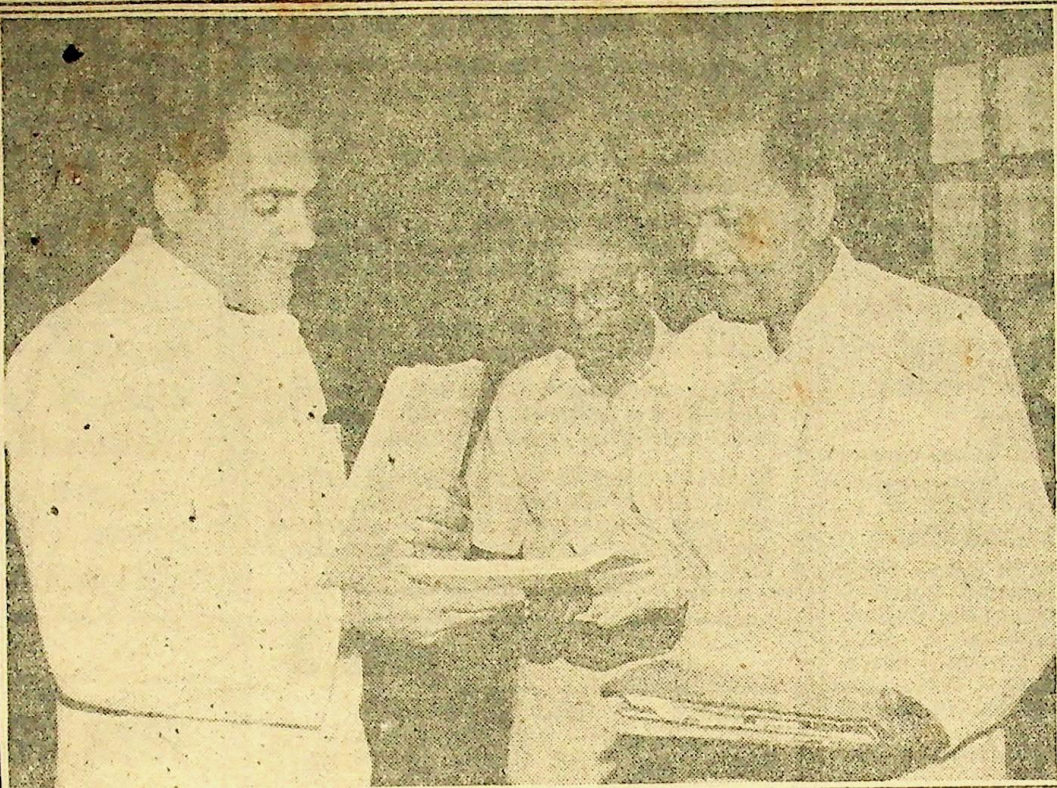
The four main objects of the new policy laid out are access, equity and minimum threshold, social relevance, diversification and quality and methodology and management. The policy frame, which has been prepared mainly by the department of education, hopes that the multi-pronged strategy for the new education policy would integrate the requirements of universalisation of elementary education along with production of sophisticated manpower to deal "creatively" with new technologies. Diversified vocationalisation and creation of better overall environment are also major objectives.

The two volumes, titled "Challenge of education—a policy perspective" are more than a status paper that was earlier promised by the Government.

While Volume II, forming the Appendix gives the status of the present education system, Volume I presents "an approach to educational reorientation."

This commitment, which was to be fulfilled by 1960, is still to be realised. A section of educational planners have, however, been arguing that this will stand fulfilled as soon as the enrolment reaches a particular participation ratio. This view is difficult to accept. Education is not a ritual. It cannot be taken as having been delivered till a child has reached the level envisaged as a norm for a 14-year-old boy or girl. With drop-out rates ranging around 77 per cent, enrolment, by itself, loses its meaning, except as a frame of reference. Consequently, new approaches such as the setting up of part-time schools and non-formal education centres have been proposed to provide flexibility in the school routine for

Continued on P 7 Col 2



The Minister for Education, Mr K. C. Pant, presenting a 'status' report on education to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in New Delhi on Tuesday. — PIB.

Education reforms mooted

Continued from P 1 Col 4

accommodating boys involved in income-generating activities or family occupations and girls pre-occupied with domestic chores, especially the care of siblings.

Under an alternative model for elementary education, it has been argued that, under Indian conditions, no single approach is likely to make much headway in the near future in imparting education beyond the age of 11, particularly among the poor, in the rural areas. A holistic model has, therefore been proposed in which, with the help of Angan-Wadis under the Integrated Child Development Scheme programme, pre-primary education would be provided for three years and thereafter, in continuation and conjunction, at the same location, primary education would be organised. This would be evaluated by a public examination on the basis of which admissions would be made for further continuation of education from Class VI to X. In this model, girls would be able to come to the school with siblings, who would be taken care of in Angan-Wadis, while they would be studying in higher classes. Non-formal education would be taken up for Classes VI to X, to the extent necessary, through the enlargement of the Open School system. This model also envisages that children should enter the vocational stream at a stage earlier than the 10+ level, otherwise they are unlikely to take to vocationalisation with any real interest.

Adult education: The impact of the Adult Education programme has, thus far, been far from impressive. This may be because, by and large, these have concentrated on a narrow objective of literacy, making only token concessions

instrument for the bulk of the population who may have never been to school in order to educate them about the programmes of family welfare, hygiene, immunisation and childcare. On the other hand, the correlation between illiteracy and high infant mortality, high rate of growth of population, female infanticide and poverty has also been established. From the point of view of political participation, which is the bedrock of democracy, adult education has been seen to play a vital role.

The real problem is as to who can be the catalysts for adult education. Apparently, even the bureaucracy concerned with development departments has a definite role in this regard but whether the required dynamism in adult education can be sustained only by them needs careful consideration. Voluntary organisations seem to have an important role in this movement, but how this role can be realised is still a moot question. Similarly, it has to be determined as to what responsibility should be placed upon the employers, particularly in the organised sector, for promoting education and literacy amongst their employees.

Voluntary agencies: Voluntary agencies, have an enormous scope to increase their involvement. Wherever possible, effort should be made to entrust responsibility for formal or non-formal education, of young people as well as of adults, to suitable voluntary agencies.

In recent years some state governments have expressed reservations regarding involvement of voluntary agencies, and conversely the latter have also been critical of the government's attitude towards them. It should be possible to work out a satisfactory arrangement for involve-

signed tests.

Emergence of capitation colleges: A large number of technical colleges have come up which charge sizable capitation fee for admissions. There is a strong feeling that their activities should be curbed because they are providing access to education on the basis of the economic status of the guardians and not on the basis of merit. On the other hand, it is also argued by the managements of these colleges that they are serving the social objective of widening the base of technical education by making the well-to-do pay the full cost of education.

Teacher training: Recruitment to teachers' training institutions should be regulated through stringent aptitude and attainment tests, giving special consideration to science students, sportsmen and people with manual dexterity and wider interests.

Social relevance, diversification and quality: Lack of social relevance has serious consequences for the students emerging from educational institutions. They are unable to acquire insights and skills relevant either to socio-cultural processes, or to the world of employment and work.

Socially useful productive programmes, national service scheme (NSS) and other similar initiatives have not yielded the desired results largely because the character of examinations determines the curricular content and methodologies of education and also circumscribes the attitude of students. Over the years examinations have become memory-based, highly routinised and unconcerned with the evaluation of the total personality, attitudes and values, and unable to gauge the mental ability and physical dexterity of students.

From the viewpoint of social rele-

to the idea of delivering relevant knowledge to the target population, for improving their economic performance as well as their quality of life. Moreover, adult education cannot be pursued with any vigour without the participation of the masses in initiatives for social, economic or political changes.

There is adequate evidence that adult education can and has to be used as an

instrument of all individuals and agencies for the furtherance of educational goals.

Access to higher education: Effective steps should be taken to see that only those with scholastic interests or aptitude enter higher education. This has been in vogue in many countries for decades and there is no reason why this cannot be adopted in India.

If degrees are delinked from jobs, there will be considerable relief from the pressure of numbers in the under-graduate stream in case avenues for training with a reasonable assurance of getting jobs are provided on a large scale, in close collaboration with employers.

To the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates, access has been provided through reservation of seats. This, however, is not enough. In the real sense, access to education has meaning only if those who enter an institution are able to continue at the same pace as others; otherwise undesirable tensions and psychological barriers are created which vitiate their absorption in the mainstream of education. To obviate such situations, arrangements have to be made to provide special coaching before and after admission to under-graduate courses.

At the post-graduate level admissions can be regulated through specially de-

vance, it is necessary that the curricula should be so devised that these would help the students to take legitimate pride in the national heritage and feel committed to uphold India's unity and integrity and motivate them to understand and contribute participatively to the immediate community and environment and concretise the process of learning by relating theory with real life situations.

New educational policy

(Cond to page 2)

Solution

An educational policy of linking primary education to productive work would appear to be a solution. But this is impossible to implement in a society where the elite are able to get their children all the "right" language (English) skills and consequently, positions of power and wealth without being put through a regime of physical and productive work. In an unequal society, the elite will not accept such education for their children. The best they are willing to do is to co-opt some of the other sections and their children through for example, model, pace-setting schools.

The new educational policy will be significant as much for some of the areas it does not touch, as for the ones it does. Thus, it appears likely that along with a strengthening of the Central Government's role in education, private managements of schools for the better off will acquire increasing salience. Not so much attention appears to have been paid to agricultural and rural-oriented vocational education, as to urban, possibly service sector-oriented vocational education, geared to commercial, tourism

and related (and not necessarily industry-based) occupations.

It is a little early to speculate further. The Prime Minister's initial hope of implementing a new policy from 1985-86, or for that matter, the hope of starting a few pace-setting schools this year, had obviously not taken account of the cobwebs of earlier policy commitments or the sheer time taken by the Government to move.

But it would be premature too, to write off the new policy initiative altogether. The new emphasis in the economy on "liberalisation" and "modernisation" even though it consolidates only the trends already apparent under Mrs. Gandhi, marks some new departure too.

Similarly in education, wider differentiation within the educational system, combined with the Central Government's drive to keep the initiative with itself, failure to universalise and equalise, and a drive towards modernisation at least in parts appear likely.

...(PTI Feature)

Ms. Sneh Shukla, a staff member of the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, is an educationist.

New educational policy

By Sneh Shukla

It is over six months, since Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's declaration that a new educational policy was on the anvil. Some of the main features then emphasised were pace-setting model schools, use of new technology in education, delinking of jobs from degrees, teaching about the national movement and our ancient cultural heritage, free education for women up to the high school stage, and a general commitment to use education to modernise society.

The next few weeks saw some lively debate and, of course, interesting motions on the part of the Education Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant. The country's commitment to universal education "up to the age of 14", as laid down in the Directive Principles of State Policy, had already been postponed to a quarter century beyond the target date of '10 years from the promulgation of the Constitution'. The country has committed itself in UNESCO to fall in line with its deadline of 1990. And this the Minister has been mentioning as a basic element of policy.

Delinking of jobs from degrees, advocated since as far back as early 1950s by Dr. Humayun Kabir and others, has remained a dream, in an economy where almost 10 million matriculates and graduates are enrolled in the employment exchanges. And, in any case, it is for the job market and not the educational system to delink. Hence it is the employment policy and not the educational policy that is primarily involved in this regard.

Meanwhile one sees readiness and great urgency in the University Grants Commission to help finance degree and even non-degree short courses in the universities.

Certainly, a fraction of the unemployed could, with more appropriate training, become more employable. But this is possible in the wider context of reforms in school curriculum and structure. So an exercise in revising secondary school curriculum has taken this aspect also into account.

This exercise started at the national-level conference organised by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) last May. Here one had the interesting

(of an atheistic commitment) or the Educational Adviser's essentially north Indian Hindu value orientation as the basis.

One interesting consequence of the Prime Minister's initiating a discussion on the value elements of education certainly has been a decent burial, at least at the formal level, of the backward looking value orientation and moral education, which had been propagated under the former education minister. It has been overshadowed by the stress on the history of the freedom movement, on the one hand, and the use of new technology, e.g. computer, etc., on the other, and related modernist tendencies.

Curriculum

The debate on the curriculum will, of course, be continuous and even contentious. First, the political aspects. As the recent regional conference at Calcutta showed, states, particularly non-Congress ones, will strongly resist a uniform national curriculum, both because of fears of erosion of their authority and because of elements like how the freedom movement would be treated, whether a marxist, or liberal-rational or conservative-parochial understanding of Indian history would be used, whether Hindi would have an important place, etc. These are matters on which states may be unwilling to yield.

Then there can be genuine pedagogical differences of opinion on how far differing backgrounds and levels of development and of children's abilities and aptitudes should be taken into account with a view to offering, for instance, two sets of curricula in school subjects (i.e. an advanced level and an elementary level), or on whether the curriculum should be the same for boys and girls, for rural and urban schools, and so on.

After four regional conferences, the NCERT will certainly announce a new curriculum. But its acceptance by the states and its announcement by the Government of India (since Education has now become a Concurrent Subject), or some compromise between States and the Centre, lies in the womb of the future.

Crucial issues such as improving teachers' salaries and status so as to attract and retain higher quality, provision of infrastructure, school equipment, where are

appears in very short supply.

Model schools

Against this background should be viewed the scheme for setting up of a model, pace-setting school in every district. It is no longer a secret in the capital that the scheme is being pushed at high pressure in the face of opposition among professional and even government circles. An alternative plan, for a larger number of less expensive schools drawing their pupils from wider circles of villages, has been brushed aside. And yet, as against an estimated cost of over Rs. 900 crore for the proposed 300 and odd model schools alone, the planning Commission has been persuaded to allot only a little over Rs. 100 crore for the model schools together with the scheme for vocationalisation of school education.

The idea behind the project of model, pace-setting schools in every district appears simple. Instead of only the rich, mainly urban, buying expensive education from private "public" schools in the cities, the Centre will select the "best" pupils, hopefully largely rural, and from among all sections of population for boarding schools mixing children from many states in a rich environment of curricular and co-curricular learning. This will nurture a more broadly based national elite instead of region-based urban elite as at present.

Unfortunately, the selection procedures in our country are such that even with the best of intentions, the "able" ones are seldom selected in competition with the rich, the privileged, the educated. When, in addition, graft, patronage or influence intervene, the situation could be much worse.

The proposed 300-odd model schools will also be like the rest—the poor, somewhat demoralised (in comparison to the high fee paying private "public" schools and the subsidised Kendriya Vidyalayas)—State or State-aided private low-fee schools numbering almost 50,000 at the secondary level. The problem of states finding themselves to be poor providers of education within their own domains (as compared to other better schools) can be understood if we think of how the municipalities and district boards see themselves in the Primary educa-

rates the cruel dilemma of our situation. Not to introduce them is to condemn the nation perpetually to dominance by more advanced countries. To introduce them means (a) further consolidating the privilege and power of the 3 per cent English-speaking urban population, and (b) giving their young the skills, mainly of the kind which will facilitate their flight to richer societies.

A few hundred schools under the Computer Literacy and School Studies (CLASS) project and some others may offer a smattering of skills or more. The UGC TV in Higher Education Programme will benefit mainly TV-owning families who, incidentally, are also more at ease with its English language and Western oriented programmes.

What is needed is a much more massive effort in developing indigenous software based on local culture, initiative and manpower, combined with an even more massive effort in getting college schedules and examination procedures better attuned to TV and other distance learning and wider dispersal of viewing facilities. This is nowhere in sight.

As stated earlier, the Achilles' heel of the new policy is mass education and its consequences for equality. In fact, this was the reaction of a graduate class in Education which I teach within a few days of the Prime Minister's broadcast. All later attempts to make up on this score would meet with serious difficulties and diversion. Thus, when it is seen that the cost of the few crores of new elementary school places needed for universalisation is impossible to meet, the idea of non-formal education at the elementary stage is emphasised. But, while schooling at different hours and by different methods will certainly mop up a percentage of the school drop-outs or non-drop-ins from among girls or wayward children of the well-to-do and similar categories, the bulk of the failures in elementary education results from the sheer penury of the 40 per cent to 60 per cent population below the poverty line, and its non-participation in either market economy or industry or modern administration and communication.

Remedies to this lie fundamentally in radical socio-economic changes, redistribution of power, wealth and property and, of course, rapid economic growth to offer new opportunities.

Ethno-National Identity Formation: A Study of Sikh Ethno-Nationalism

Gurnam Singh*

The recorded human history is the historical cycle of ethnic emergence and decline. In the process of ethnic identity formation or construction certain conscious efforts and certain routine changes and developments do play role. The impetus of ethnic identity formation or construction may be the result of uneven development, regional deprivation, conditions of internal colonialism, imperialism and underdevelopment,¹ or relative political deprivation; the factors, forces and processes germane to it may vary in terms of time and space. Ethnic identity formation process seeks to create Us-They syndrome highlighting the solidarity and uniqueness of Us from They around it. The factors in the process may be the given objective ground realities of differentiation and uniqueness or may have to be interpreted, invented and selected. Common origin of a community--real or mythical--and interpreted invented or selected common history of the group distinct from others around it ; association with a specific territory and a distinctive common culture including language and religion ; and a sense of solidarity are central to this process of ethnic identity formation or construction.

The process of ethnic identity formation out of larger human conglomerate encompassing the state and their submergence is an issue area which have not drawn the attention of scholars, it deserved. How the Sikhism as a system of faith evolved into an ethno-national identity of its own aspiring for political power? Why the communities with their attendant distinct attribute remain dormant and slumbering as part of larger human conglomerate and times become conscious of their distinctiveness and get mobilised for

¹ For details see Antony D. Smith, The Ethnic Revival, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 26-44

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recognition and assertion of its distinct identity as an ethno-national community? An attempt has been made in this paper to analyse the factors, forces and processes which go into the making or construction of an ethno-national identity in general and the rise of Sikh ethno-nationalism in particular.

In the process of ethnic identity formation, myths of group origin or migration and attributes of its uniqueness, as compared to other groups, play a stellar role. The more striking and well known these myths of group origin or formation the more the chances of ethnic group to survive and endure.² The important point about an ethnic community, as opposed to other forms of social groupings, "is the rationale that sustains the sense of group belonging and group uniqueness and which links successive generations of its members."³

Sikhs as a community trace their origins to the founding of their faith by Guru Nanak and propagated, fathomed and institutionalized by the subsequent Gurus. The Sikh elite as well as common people make pointed and repeated references to various incidents and events during the Sikh Gurus' times from where they originated as a distinct community. They are intriguingly silent with regard to the larger social conglomerate of which they once formed part before their evolution as a distinct community.

Closely related or organically linked to the myths of origins or migration and group formation is the unique history of the group distinct from others. It is the unique and distinct historical myths which reinforce distinctive communal consciousness. The Sikhs trace their history from the birth of Guru Nanak in 1469 and their historical consciousness refuses to comprehend anything prior to that, the events of Sikh history are deeply embedded in their communal consciousness. In their daily prayers as also in their social ceremonies the important events and developments are repeated and emphasised. Sikh as a

² Anthony D. Smith, op.cit. p.65

³ op.cit. p. 65.

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infringes liberty. There is no right which violate rights." The people of J & K State belong to an old civilization and pluristic society. They are peace living people who believe in philosophy of brotherhood and secularism. The deep rooted respect for Human Rights by our people is in fact stems from our compassion, secularism, love for tolerance and from violence and attaching a great deal of importance to the dignity of mankind.

While summing up I may agree with the view that the protections of human personality and its fundamental rights is the ~~ultimate~~ ultimate purpose of all laws - National and International. Terrorists violence of Human Rights cannot be justified on the ground of its political and ideological motivations or its value-basis. Terrorism involves a military campaign against a civil society, which has no means to retaliate in combat except through the instrumentalies of the State.

8. Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1970. ○
9. Paul R. Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism : University of Theory and Comparison, New Delhi : Sage, 1991, p.256.
10. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India 1885-1947, Delhi: Macmillan Press, 1983, p.96.
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12. Sudipta Kaviraj, Indira Gandhi and Indian Politics, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.21, No. 38-39, 1986.
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14. Ashutosh Varshney, 'Three Compromised Nationalism : Why Kashmir has been a Problem' in Raju G.C. Thomas, ed., Perspective on Kashmir, Boulder : West View Press, 1992, pp.191-234.
15. Balraj Puri, Simmering Volcano : Study of Jammu's Relation with Kashmir, New Delhi : Sterling Publishers Ltd; 1983, p.31.
16. Hari Om, Debacle in Kashmir, Jammu : J&K Publishers, 1992.
17. Selig Harrison, India : The Most Dangerous Decades, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1960.

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term "invasion" because of its embarrassing lesson in 1982. At that time Japan had been the object of international criticism, especially from China and Korea, which claimed that Japan was covering up its war crimes during the second Sino-Japanese war by imposing the term "advance" on history textbook writers. Finally, the government objected to Ienaga's use of the term "the Nanking Atrocity" (*Nankin daigyakusatsu*) instead of "the Nanking Incident" (*Nankin jiken*); a description of "Troop 731" (731 *butai*), a biological warfare unit in Manchuria; and an account of killings in Okinawa by Japanese soldiers at the end of World War II.⁴⁶

In deciding the third case in October 1989, Justice Kato upheld the government's right to exercise textbook certification, judging that it was necessary and appropriate. However, the Justice warned that if the Education Minister misused his power in ignoring academic findings, implanting biased information, and suppressing certain ideologies, certification would be declared unconstitutional. As Lawrence W. Beer states, "For the indefinite future, Asian nations will remain acutely sensitive to how openly and straightforwardly textbooks and officials treat Japan's behavior during the Pacific War." And their criticism has sometimes restrained Japan's textbook policy. In 1986, when Japan's Asian neighbors criticized the certification of the first postwar nationalistic textbook, *Shinsen Nihonshi* (*Newly Compiled Japanese History*), the Ministry ordered an unprecedented postcertification correction of textbook descriptions relating to Japan's annexation of Korea, the second Sino-Japanese War, and the Nanking Incident.⁴⁷

Notwithstanding the occasional challenges to the SCAP's policy, the Occupation reform of history textbooks left an invaluable legacy for Japanese history texts, not only in terms of content and approach but also in terms of the textbook system itself. The SCAP aimed at demilitarization, democratization, and decentralization of the textbook system. In order to demilitarize the texts, it deleted the glorification of war heroes and added criticism of militarism in prewar Japan; to democratize, it removed the national creation myth and introduced scientific approach-

⁴⁶Special Issue, *Hanrei jihō* (Feb. 1990); Morikawa *Kyōkasho to saiban*, 23-68; and "Ienaga kyōkasho; daisanji sosyō; 'sensō kijutsu' kentei ihōsei nashi," *Yomiuri shimbun*, 4 Oct. 1989.

⁴⁷Tokinoia Shigeru, *Ienaga kyōkasho saiban to nankin jiken* (Tokyo, 1989), 156-57, 189. Also see *Hanrei taimuzu* 709 (1989): 63-140, 124-28, 134-35; and Yamauchi Toshihiro, "Kyōkasho saiban ni okeru tekiyō ikenron," in Ashibe, *Kyōkasho saiban*, 181-92; Lawrence W. Beer, "Freedom of Expression: The Continuing Revolution," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53 (Spring 1990): 66; "Mamorukaigi no rekishi kyōkasho: Gōkaku-go ni irei no shūsei," *Asahi shimbun*, 18 June 1986; "Kyōkasho mondai to chūgoku no hitotachi," *Asahi shimbun*, 5 Nov. 1986; "Kōkōyō shimpun nihonshi," *Nihon keizai shimbun*, 21 July 1986.

es and critical thinking; and to book system with a textbook.

Most textbook writers h history from mythology. Their *Nihon shoki*, are brief. Although government in the late 1980s to rein instructed writers to include a legends in courses of study for junior high schools.

The SCAP's policy to d cially its aggression in Asia d versial in Japan. In the 1980s and other neighboring nation to allow the high school text Atrocity with some restrictio study—elementary, junior hig itarism in prewar Japan, but process following the war. A sacres of World War II, the I tice minister was forced to resig of the issue.⁴⁸

Although Occupation r history textbooks, the extent ical perspective, the content the textbook examiners. A r itarism is especially visible. C pathetic to Ienaga, including t and the Citizens' Conference *kentei soshō o shiensuru shin* uation of the war is needed," Asia, and criticizes Japan's a; hand, another group includ Kuroita Katsumi, in line wit is not desirable but there wa sizes the need to include my textbooks attacking Japan's

⁴⁸*Shin gakushū shidōryō* (New York Times, 8 May 1994).

⁴⁹Ienaga Saburo, *The Pacific* (New York, 1978), preface; Takahashi,